

Japanese society was divided.⁽¹⁾

The scholastic life of the average Samurai boy may be summarized as follows. His schooling began at six years of age, and during the first three years his attention was devoted almost exclusively to the learning and copying of Chinese characters. This was somewhat complicated by the cost of paper and the reading of Chinese classics, though without understanding them of which a great deal had naturally to be used. In an endeavour to lessen the expense, the paper, after being covered with writing, was washed and dried, so that the boy was able to use it again. Further, when the paper was blackened by repeated writings, the children would write over it with a brush dipped in water, thereby exercising still greater economy. By the time he was nine, the young scholar was expected to have memorized about 1,000 characters and to know something of their meaning, place and use in the sentence. He had been instructed also in the less difficult parts of the Chinese classics, and in such matters of conduct as manners, morals and etiquette. Among the standard works for early reading were the *Kokio* (Classic of Filial Piety), the *Toshisen* (Selected Poetry of the Tang Dynasty), and the *Kobun Shimpō* (Real Treasures from Old Literature).

At the age of nine, those students who were to continue their training entered the course in Chinese classics. Then the following works, taken in somewhat the same order, were considered essential, although others were frequently added.

(i) *Shogaku*. (Lesser Learning): simple maxims of the sages.

(1) These classes in their order of precedence were (1) the Samurai or military class who were the real rulers of Japan. (2) The farmers and peasants, some of the more wealthy of whom were large landholders, and by special permission allowed to have a family name and to carry two swords. (3) Artisans and labourers. (4) Merchants and tradespeople, who were theoretically classed last because they produced nothing. Here again in view of their comparative wealth certain members of this class were treated with respect and given the privilege of bearing a family name and wearing two swords. See *Kikuchi*. *op. cit.* p. 39.

- (2) *Daigaku*. (Great Learning).
- (3) *Rongo*. (Discourses of Confucius and his Disciples): 4 volumes.
- (4) *Moshi*. (Discourses of Mencius): 4 volumes.
- (5) *Chin-yo*. (The Golden Mean)
- (6) *Nippon Gaisshi*. (A History of Japan, by Raisanyo).
- (7) *Dai Nipponshi*. (A History of Japan prepared under Mitsukuni Tokugawa, the Daimyo of Mito).
- (8) *Shikio*. (Book of Odes): 2 volumes.
- (9) *Shokio*. (Classical History): 2 volumes.
- (10) *Shunjiu*. (Annals of the Chou Dynasty by Confucius): 2 volumes.
- (11) *Raiki*. (Book of Rites): 4 volumes.
- (12) *Yeki*. (Book of Divination): 2 volumes.
- (13) *Saden*. (Commentary on the Annals of the Chou dynasty): 14 volumes.
- (14) *Shiki*. (Biographical History of China): 22 volumes.
- (15) *Zenkanjio*. (Record of the Han dynasty): 51 volumes.
- (16) *Gokanjio*. (Record of the second Han Dynasty).
- (17) *Shiji-tsugan*. (Chronicle of China from the Ancient Time to the Five Dynasties Period): 30 volumes.
- (18) *Tsugan-Komoku*. (Abridged Chronicle of China): 100 volumes.⁽¹⁾

This course of study could be prolonged indefinitely, depending upon the predilections of the student and his filial or feudal obligations. In many cases it extended into middle age, although the requirements of feudal service as well as the preferences of the average student brought the period of study to an end at a much earlier age in the majority of cases.⁽²⁾

The school day in most of the Tokugawa schools lasted from seven in the morning till four in the afternoon. It began with a general assembly at which a senior instructor would lecture on some selected passage, followed in their books by the students. Explanations and comments would be followed by professorial exhortations to the students to conduct their lives in accordance with the precepts read. The students then divided into smaller groups for the pur-

(1) Murray. *op. cit.* p. 14.

(2) Tsuji. *Dai Nippon Kyoiku Tsushii*. Tokyo 1933. p. 139.

pose of further study under the guidance of junior teachers. The school year was interspersed with frequent local and national holidays, by festivals in honour of Confucius, and it was also broken by fifteen free days at each equinox.

This description emphasizes again the powerful stress upon moral training which the Japanese have always associated with their educational system. To most Japanese, intellectual as divorced from moral training is an absurdity. "The Japanese have always been more interested in practical ethics than in abstract speculation. This is clear enough to anybody who will study their intellectual history, and has been generally admitted by their own philosophers who (to use the words of an eminent modern scholar, Dr. T. Inouye) feel that 'in Western ethics the dominant principle is intellectual inquiry and not the cultivation of virtue.' "(1) The same point of view is expressed by Baron Kikuchi who has written that the study of the Chinese classics

"was cultivated not so much for literary purposes as for the humanities; its system of moral philosophy was studied for practical guidance, that the pupils might thereby be better fitted for the task of regulating their own individual conduct, of properly managing the affairs of their house, that is to say, adjusting their family relations, of taking a share in the good government of their lord's territory, and, if need be, of helping their lord in the wider sphere of national administration. History in the same way was studied, not for historical facts merely, but chiefly for the lessons to be derived from it of how states rose, prospered, declined and fell, and of how great men of olden days dealt with different problems of government."(2)

During the Tokugawa era Japanese scholars for the first time began a serious study of the philosophy of education. There were three educational theorists in particular who deserve at least passing recognition. Of these, Razan Hayashi was the most prominent and, in the circumstances, unquestionably the most practical. He emphasized the importance of home instruction, declaring that parents bore a

(1) Sansom. *op. cit.* pp. 494-5.
(2) Kikuchi. *op. cit.*—pp. 34-35.

greater responsibility than teachers for the training of their children. Intelligence, self-discipline, and good manners, fostered respectively by instruction in reading, fencing and etiquette, were the essentials of his programme.

Heishu Hosoi was the outstanding exponent of the philosophy of the Golden Mean. He advised against exaggerated specialization in any subject, and warned his students to avoid extremes of conduct or behaviour. Hosoi recognized the importance of cultural and political education. Both his theory and his practice were modelled on those of the educated classes of China ; Confucius was his inspiration and his guide.

Kaibara Ekken's⁽¹⁾ philosophy was deterministic. He recognized man as a phenomenon of nature, and visualized the purpose of education as the bringing of man into harmony with his environment. Only thus could the happiness of the individual and of society be attained. To achieve this desired end universal harmony men should cultivate five virtues of benevolence, justice, courtesy, learning and integrity of character. Women's education should consist in the development of two virtues and two arts ; chastity and obedience, sewing and conversation.⁽²⁾

The students of the Tokugawa schools did not devote the whole of their time and attention to literary pursuits. Special training in etiquette, in forms of social usage, and in proper modes of address were also given. There was instruction in letter-writing, poetry, and the other arts of grace and beauty. The emphasis placed upon the formalities of social intercourse, and the strict adherence to the forms and symbols of polite society as illustrated by the extreme of such activities as the tea-ceremony, provide a clear interpretation of the spirit of the age, revealing at once its picturesque elegance and the essentially sterile nature of

(1) Chronologically in the Tokugawa era, Ekken comes first, Hosoi second, and Hayashi third. Here their order of importance is given.

(2) *Tsugi. op. cit. Chap. IX.*

The laws of the time warned women that unfaithfulness, disobedience to parents-in-law or husband, and loud or persistent talking would justify the husband in demanding a divorce. *Ibid. pp. 134-5.*

its genius. "The seriousness with which people took to the composition of poetry and the almost ecstatic reverence they attached to the court poetry bureau, and the elaborate artificiality of the tea-ceremony performed in a small dark room—these are the tragi-comic yet true representation of the age."⁽¹⁾ In other words the Tokugawa age was remarkable for its introspection and sterility, in contrast to the retrospection and creativeness of the Meiji era. This picture, though true, is not complete. Vital as were these elements in the knightly tradition, they were exceeded in importance—except among the comparatively small group of Court and Bakufu (Shogunate) nobles—by the prestige of the military arts. The Daimyo and Samurai youth, while expected to be able to conform to all the demands of a formal and stereotyped society, was above all else expected to devote his energies to the cultivation of physical prowess. It was only as the Tokugawa supremacy extended the period of peace that the emphasis on military training was relaxed. In the days of Iyeyasu and his immediate successors military exercises, practice with the bow and arrow, riding, swimming, throwing the lance and the use of the sword were all subjects of constant practice.⁽²⁾ Had this physical training been united to a dietetic practice, such as that now employed in Japan, there can be little doubt that the Japanese people as a whole would have been a still stronger and a more efficient nation than they are to-day.

Before leaving the subject of the life of the student in the late feudal period, reference should be made to the attitude of the pupil towards his master. This was customarily a mingling of respect, reverence and affection. During periods of instruction the student was expected to remain perfectly quiet, to concentrate without interruption upon the words of his instructor or the text-book open before him, and to accept without question the master's interpretations of the classics. This strict concentration might last for hours without interruption. It is quite possible

(1) Yokoyama. *op. cit.* pp. 284-285.

(2) Okuma. *op. cit.* pp. 132-3.

that Baron Kikuchi did not exaggerate when he wrote that "to this early and severe training carried on through many generations are due that wonderful imperceptibility of temper and that courtesy of manner which characterize the higher classes of Japan." Outside the classroom the relations of pupil and master were summarized in the saying "Let not the pupil tread within three feet of his teacher's shadow." There is no doubt that this formula was literally obeyed, as such symbolic acts are accorded an importance in Japan that is not customary in the West.⁽¹⁾ In spite of this formal relationship, however, there are instances of close and even affectionate relationships between professors and students, and many records are available describing the sacrifice of time and money by teachers in order to aid in the education of their youthful disciples.⁽²⁾

The record of the University of Yedo which, as stated above, was founded in 1690, was not one of uninterrupted progress. During the middle of the 18th Century it suffered both in numbers and in the quality of its instruction, and although towards the end of the century its physical equipment was improved and important additions were made to its faculty, at the same time it suffered a further restriction in the scope of its intellectual activities. In 1790, the centenary of the School's foundation, it was taken over by the Government.

In spite of the Tokugawa prohibitions, Japan was never completely isolated from all contact with the outer world. Foreign ships either through necessity or design occasionally arrived off the harbours of Japan and from time to time Japanese vessels were driven upon foreign shores. From such contacts, knowledge of conditions abroad gradually found its way into the Japanese consciousness. But the most obvious breach in the barriers raised by the Shogunate was the permission to trade through Naga-

(1) Even today, for example, when H. M. the Emperor leaves His palace all blinds in the upper windows of buildings along the route must be drawn in order that no one shall *look down upon* His Imperial Majesty.

(2) Takeda. *op. cit.* p. 230.

saki. This was granted to the Dutch merchants after the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1639. In order to facilitate this trade, for the Government of Yedo was not oblivious to its importance and value, a few Japanese were permitted of learn to speak the Dutch language. Until the Shogun Yoshimune repealed the interdict in 1716, not even the Japanese interpreters were allowed to learn to read the language of Oranda (Holland), and it was almost the end of the 18th Century before the first foreign book—a Dutch work on human anatomy—was translated into Japanese. Meanwhile, however, the interest in foreign learning was a constant factor in Japanese intellectual life.

In the early years of the century the famous scholar, Hakuseki Arai, although himself a profound and even bigoted adherent of the classical school (he held, for instance, that "Government should be conducted by means of Music and Rites"),⁽¹⁾ had compiled two volumes of occidental knowledge entitled respectively "Renderings of Foreign Languages" and "Records of Occidental Hearsay."⁽²⁾ The interest in western learning, of which these books were at once an evidence and stimulus, was further strengthened by the action of the Shogun Yoshimune. This able and active man "led a kind of 'Back to Iyeyasu' movement, endeavouring to revive the feudal regimentation of society, encouraging military exercises . . . but paradoxically enough relaxing the interdict on western learning. . . . He respected the orthodox Confucianism, but he was not prepared to deprive himself of wisdom from other sources. He therefore encouraged scholarship of every complexion with results which he can scarcely have contemplated. He bestowed his patronage impartially upon Confucianists of various schools, thus setting up philosophical currents which were in course of time to engulf the Bakufu (Shogunate): and his attitude towards western learning revived an interest in studies which had lapsed under the exclusive policy, but

(1) *Sansom*, *op. cit.*—p. 496.

(2) On Arai see Knox's translation of his *Autobiography* in the *Translations of the Asiatic Society of Japan* Vol. 29, pt. IV.

in time were to be among the chief instruments of its revival."⁽¹⁾

This growing interest in occidental learning was not allowed to proceed unchecked.⁽²⁾ Indeed, it so aroused the fears of subsequent rulers that a definite reaction set in. After 1792, students in the university were forbidden to discuss current affairs or to examine unorthodox views of philosophy or government. Two years later the academic policy was further restricted, and admission as regular students was confined to children of the immediate retainers of the Tokugawa family. Applicants from other clans were permitted to enroll as "special" students, but they received no encouragement from the government, though the regular students were entirely supported by public funds. Discipline was made increasingly severe, and a definite effort was made to improve the standard of work—always within the limits of the classical tradition. In this way it was hoped that a well-trained and loyal group of officials would be annually available to enter the service of the Tokugawa shogunate.

These tactics suffered the fate that so often springs from a policy of repression—they fostered the growth of the very spirit which they had been created to subdue. Barred from the central university, the better students from the various clans pursued their studies in the provincial schools, which in some instances were by no means unworthy rivals of the government institution. The "special" students in Yedo, challenged, as it were, resented the preferences shown their Tokugawa competitors, especially as many brilliant scholars were arising from the general advance in education. From among these provincial scholars arose many of the reformers who prepared the way for the revolution that was to materialize half a century later.

The Clan schools during the 18th Century varied greatly in size, in standard, and in their relationship to the central

(1) *Sansom.* *op. cit.*—p. 497. See also *Ukita* "Educationalists of the Past" in *Okuma* *op. cit.* pp. 128-130.

(2) *Yokoyama.* *op. cit.* Chap. 4. Sect. 2.

authorities.⁽¹⁾ The central authorities depended almost entirely upon the loyalty of the clans' leaders to the rule of the Shogunate and the person of the Shogun. The schools established by clans which enjoyed the favour of Yedo were assisted by annual grants of rice and other encouragements from the central government. The subjects taught in the provincial schools were little different from those followed in the Shoheiko, i.e. Chinese classics and military training were the basis of all learning. In some of the more independent schools, however, the interpretation of those passages of the Confucian classics dealing with the forms and philosophy of government was of such a nature as to arouse serious doubts as to the validity of the Shogunate rule. But of course schools which permitted or encouraged these heretical views received no subsidies from Yedo. It is not intended to suggest that these schools were virulent centres of disaffection. The introduction of any critical elements was most unusual, but that it was tolerated at all was significant of the strength of the gradually increasing pressure against the bonds of rigid scholasticism. For the most part, however, the schools were content to confine their studies to the prescribed channels, and to subordinate any individual trend towards independence to the duty of obedience and conformity. The following rules posted for the information of students at the opening of the Kagoshima School in 1773 are typical of the attitude of the day :

- (1) "The text books employed shall be the Shisho, the Gokyo, the Shogaku, and the Kinshiroku.
- (2) The standard of interpretation shall be that of the two Chinese sages Teishu (viz. Tei-isen and Shuki).
- (3) Students shall not argue, placing their own interpretation against the accepted interpretation of the school.
- (4) Students shall be polite and diligent in study, avoiding frivolity.
- (5) Students shall consult upon questions of difficulty but yield to recognized explanation. They shall not debate concerning ancient teachings and the opinions of the

(1) Takeda, *op. cit.* Part II. Chap. 2. Okuma, *op. cit.* p. 130.

sages.

- (6) Ability should be honoured, not jealously treated.
- (7) Even the poor, if earnest in study, shall be admitted to the school.
- (8) Respect shall be paid to all paper bearing the written character, and care shall be taken against fire."⁽¹⁾

Neither the Shoheiko nor the Clan schools made any real effort to provide educational facilities for the common people. Even the towns and cities, which in many respects enjoyed a large measure of local autonomy, were delinquent in this respect. Insofar as the Bakufu government was concerned it not only omitted to provide facilities for popular education, but it took positive steps to discourage any such development on any useful scale.⁽²⁾ Fortunately, however, the temple schools of the middle ages were not entirely abolished by the early Tokugawa rulers, and during the latter part of the 18th Century there were even certain cases in which they received some evidence of governmental approval. During that century they rapidly increased in numbers. These temple schools, or *Terakoya* as they were called, were generally held not in the temple itself but in the houses of the priests.⁽³⁾ The teachers were usually the priests themselves, but in some special cases the pupils were instructed by *ronin*—soldiers of fortune, military men without feudal allegiance.⁽⁴⁾ These schools tended to emphasize "Buddhist and humanitarian rather than Confucian and governmental motives".⁽⁵⁾ But their greatest significance arose from the fact that they admitted as students the sons (and daughters) of the common people. Even more than was so in the Clan schools, the *Terakoya* were characterized by an intensely personal relationship between the master and his pupils. In many cases the pupils even lived in the

(1) *Lombard. op. cit.* p. 101.

(2) *Yokoyama. op. cit.* Chap. 3. Sect. II.

(3) *Lombard. op. cit.* p. 101.

(4) Children in the *Terakoya* were taught by *Hsinsin*, *Bushi*, *Soryo* (Priests), *Shinkan* (Shinto priests) and *Isha* (doctors). This order shows their relative importance as judged numerically.

(5) *Yokoyama. op. cit.* Chap. 3. Sect. 2. *Okuma. op. cit.* p. 131.

temple compound, but whether as a boarder or day pupil, the boy upon entering the school presented offerings to the students already in attendance and to the master, and while begging for permission to study, promised to obey the master in all things and to submit to punishment when necessary.⁽¹⁾ No regular fees were charged, the master depending upon the gratitude of the pupils as expressed in voluntary gifts, and the ties thus formed between the teacher and the student often persisted in lifelong affection and respect. This lack of emphasis upon the commercial aspect of a matter so vital as education is one of the most attractive features of Japanese history, and the refusal to put a price upon services of an intellectual and spiritual nature is still characteristic of many phases of Japanese life. Japanese schoolmasters and professors even to-day set a standard of sacrifice in the interest of their pupils that can be equalled in no occidental state.

In addition to the Terakoya there was established in Japan at this period another type of school known as the Shijuku. The institutions, although catering to the same class of student as the Terakoya, gave a somewhat more advanced course of training, and might perhaps be compared to the middle schools which developed later.

By the beginning of the 19th century great numbers of these private schools were in operation, and in them a rapidly increasing percentage of the population was gaining some idea of the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic.⁽²⁾ As these schools for the most part supplied only an elementary education, much less stress was laid upon the precise instruction in Confucian ethics than was done in the great Clan schools and the Shoheiko. There was, however, a no less definite moral foundation for the intellectual training which they supplied. The sentences used in the copy-books all stressed the moral virtues—reverence for ancestors, for the gods (both the ancient Shinto deities and

(1) *Lombard. op. cit.* p. 101.

(2) On the general subject of the Terakoya, Shijuku etc. see Naruse "The Education of Women" in *op. cit.* pp. 208-212.

the gods of Buddhism) for Confucius and all wise and good men was persistently inculcated.⁽¹⁾

As has been noted above, the temple schools admitted girls as well as boys. They did not attend in anything like the same numbers, however, and their lessons were of an even simpler and more practical nature. For the most part they were merely trained in sewing and the household arts and were given only the most meagre instruction, if indeed any at all, in reading and writing. As will be pointed out in a later chapter, the position of women in the Tokugawa feudal age was much more humble than it had been eight hundred years earlier. The renewed emphasis upon Chinese philosophy which accompanied the scholastic revival of the 17th and 18th centuries had again emphasized the essential inferiority of the female sex.⁽²⁾ The officials of the Bakufu, educated in a philosophy that placed woman very little higher in the social scale than the domestic animals, could not be expected to view with enthusiasm any proposals designed to place the members of this despised sex in a position of equality with their natural masters. Not only did they make no serious effort to provide any form of abstract education for girls but, to quote a Japanese scholar, "ignorance and superstition were encouraged as adding to their essential charm."⁽³⁾

School hours in the Terakoya were generally from 8 to 2 in winter, and 7 to 12 in summer, with all the religious holidays and the first and fifteenth of each month free. The children were taught in small groups in rotation, but for most of the day were left to themselves, merely being expected to keep engaged in reading, copying or calculating figures. There was a good deal of the informality of a home about the Terakoya. For copying practice, smooth red lacquered boards were used as slates, except upon examination days when paper was used. Some effort was made in these schools to relate the studies to the daily life that the pupils

(1) *Kikuchi*. *op. cit.* p. 40.

(2) *Tsuyii*. *op. cit.* p. 134.

(3) *Yokoyama*. *op. cit.* p. 852.

would have to lead upon leaving the Terakoya. This was particularly true of the study of arithmetic, so that the sons of merchants were taught the forms of business letters.⁽¹⁾ The fact that the samurai class looked with scorn upon all business transactions, and for the most part failed to learn even the rudiments of economic methods, had the unfortunate result in later years of placing almost all the business life of Japan—at a time when business was very much more important than it was during the middle ages—in the hands of a class which had been despised and oppressed for centuries, and which had in self-defense developed a psychological attitude which did not make for high ethical standards in business. Even in the Terakoya there was much less interest in arithmetic than in the other academic subjects, while in the Government and Clan schools arithmetic was almost entirely neglected. It is probable that the average samurai was not as disinterested in financial matters as has sometimes been argued, particularly in such exaggerated panegyrics as the popular "Bushido" of the late Dr. Inazo Nitobe.⁽²⁾ The simony nepotism and bribery which have played a not inconspicuous part in certain periods of Japanese history were participated in by members of the samurai class, and there is more than one instance of a rich merchant being able to supply a daughter with an impecunious samurai as a husband in the same way that wealthy Americans to-day can purchase Caucasian or European titles in the marriage markets of New York, London and Paris. "The average Japanese samurai was not avaricious by nature but he was often vain and far too fond of display, and far too eager for distinction. This led him into an expensive and ostentatious style of living; and the consequence was that, in spite of all the fine-spun, high-sounding theories of Bushido, money came to be of supreme importance to him. He often became not so very scrupulous as to the means and methods of acquiring it, and, worse than that, he was forced to become a hypocrite, with sounding phrases about honour on

(1) Naruse op. cit. p. 209.

(2) Nitobe "Bushido."

his lips and the worship of Mammon in his heart of hearts.”⁽¹⁾ Even those samurai who were most interested in money, however, had little training in the methods of its acquirement or in the most profitable forms of its utilization. In the less commercialized life of the country districts much of the true spirit of the old samurai caste was still to be found, and in individual cases even in Yedo the highest standards were still maintained. Even as late as 1835, the tutor of Yukichi Fukuzawa, who later became the most famous exponent of western culture, was harshly dismissed for daring to instruct his pupil in the multiplication tables. “It is abominable,” exclaimed Fukuzawa’s father, “that innocent children should be taught the use of numbers—the instrument of merchants. There is no telling what the teacher may do next.”⁽²⁾ The tremendous commercial revolution that followed the opening of Japan in the 19th Century raised the merchant class suddenly to power, and left a great many of the better samurai with their higher ethical standards and their complete innocence of commercial knowledge without serious occupation. The unfortunate reputation from which Japanese business suffered for many years can probably be largely traced to this fact. It was also undoubtedly due, in part, to a tendency to copy the methods and standards of the foreign traders who first entered Japan, and who all too often were not burdened by a high standard of commercial morality.

VI. THE SITUATION AT THE TIME OF THE RESTORATION

For fifteen generations, and through two hundred and fifty years, the Tokugawa family had ruled Japan. They had kept the country isolated from the main stream of international trade and intercourse, and the justification of their rule is to be found in the uninterrupted peace by which it

(1) *Murdoch, op. cit.* pp. 410-411.

(2) “*Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi*” E. Kijōka (Edit.) Tokyo, 1934. p. 3.

was accompanied and by the progress in commerce and industry which produced a definite rise in the general standards of living.⁽¹⁾

But no national culture can permanently remain static. Even peace could not wholly justify the stagnation that isolation was gradually forcing upon Japan. Scholars were devoting their unquestioned talents to more and more insignificant ends. Assiduous devotion to the study of a sterile literary text might and did produce profound technical specialists, writers of exquisite style and charm, but it failed to produce that dynamic and creative force which alone can freshen, unify and inspire national life.

There have been two major events in the cultural history of Japan. The first was the introduction of Chinese learning in the early centuries of the Christian era. The second was the rapid assimilation of western culture during the latter half of the 19th Century. In each of these the concepts of an almost totally foreign spiritual and material civilization were adopted and adapted to the services of Japanese life. In each case the effect upon the educational system reflected their profound and revolutionary character.

As has been indicated above, the policy of seclusion which was adopted by Ieyasu and made effective by Iyemitsu, was never entirely successful. Through the half-closed door of Deshima, rumours of the marvellous achievements of European science and thought slowly and inevitably found entrance to the receptive and inquisitive minds of Japan.⁽²⁾ Occasional Japanese, moreover, driven on foreign shores by some unexpected change in wind or tide, or boldly but secretly setting forth with deliberate intent, made contacts with the representatives of the progressive West. On their return they brought with them tales to stir the imagination and excite emulation in their less experienced compatriots.

Although the study of foreign writing was forbidden un-

(1) Amano "Commercial Education in Japan" Okuma, op. cit. p. 177.

(2) See description of biological studies of Ryotaku Maeno and others in Ukita, op. cit. p. 141.

til 1716, the Shogun Yoshimune is reported to have had a number of Dutch books translated for his personal information.⁽¹⁾ A few of the more powerful and more enlightened daimyos (such, for example, as the semi-independent Daimyo of Satsuma and the Daimyo of Nakatsu) showed an understandable but technically illegal interest in the same subject. By the end of the 18th Century breaches in the barrier of exclusion were becoming more and more apparent. In spite of the Government opposition, foreign books were being smuggled into Japan, and a gradually increasing number of students was finding access to these sources of Western knowledge.

This was particularly true of books dealing with medicine and biology. For over a thousand years Japanese doctors had been trained in the principles and practice of Chinese medicine, the therapeutic value of which was exceedingly low. Students of medicine pleaded most among those who desired the raising of the prohibition against foreign publications. As a result of their repeated demands, and recognizing the danger of opposing any longer the flowing tide of opposition, the Government began in the later years of the 18th Century to modify their regulations. In 1808, the Bakufu authorities ordered the School of Interpreters at Nagasaki to take up the study of English, and a year later Russian was added.⁽²⁾ By 1838 a medical school was established in Osaka, and in which the Dutch language was taught and Dutch books were studied. The immediate result was that all those who wished to study Dutch became students of medicine without delay. An incidental result was that most of the early teachers of foreign languages in Japan were either doctors or had at least been trained in the practice of medicine.⁽³⁾

This first relaxation of the laws against foreign contacts was soon, of necessity, followed by others. The Shogunate now realized that Japan was in no position to defend

(1) Murdoch. Vol. III.—p. 538.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 548.

(3) See, for example, *Fukuzawa's Autobiography*. Chaps. III and V.

herself if attacked by any of the great foreign powers. It realized also that the Tokugawa policies had, justly or unjustly, resulted in alienating the support of most of the people of Japan, so that it was constrained to seek deliverance from its difficulties by relaxing the severity of its rule and, above all, by studying the lessons that were to be learned from the unpleasant but powerful civilization of the West. By the middle of the 19th Century two hundred and fifty years of uninterrupted control had resulted in the growth of corruption and maladministration in Government, and the contemporary Shoguns lacked the ability to reestablish the efficiency and strength which alone could have postponed the overthrow of the Government at Yedo.

The appearance of Commodore Perry and his "Black Ships" in 1853 and 1854 gave the final impulse which precipitated Japan along the path of adventure in Western learning. It is true that opposition to the adoption of Western technique continued for two or three decades from conservatives of all classes, but Perry's demonstration at last made it dramatically clear to the more thoughtful Japanese that if they desired to maintain the independence and integrity of their country it could be done only by adopting and not by opposing the methods of the great powers. That the Shogunate itself should disappear in the process of the reorientation of Japanese life which followed was due to various reasons of which the most important, if not the most obvious, was the necessity of concentrating control in a single institution. It could no longer be divided, even theoretically, between the Court and the Shogunate. One had to disappear, and the irony of history is seen in the fact that in the very Confucian tenets which had been so ardently fostered by the Bakufu was found the moral justification for the overthrow of the Shoguns and the restoration of Imperial power.⁽¹⁾

The final decision to permit and encourage the study of Western learning was signalized in 1857 by the establish-

(1) *Murdoch. op. cit.* p. 467.

ment in Yedo of a "school for studying foreign books." In this school, which was located at the foot of Kudan Hill, Dutch only was taught at first, but three years later, when it was moved to Ogawa machi, Russian, English, French and German were added. This school was the nucleus of the Tokyo Imperial University. In 1857, the Government also established a school for the study of foreign medicine, and in 1862 the Kaisei-jo or "place of liberal culture" was opened as a centre for the study of European sciences. Further proof of the determination of the Government to ascertain the benefits to be derived from the study of foreign knowledge is found in the sending of students to foreign countries which began in 1863. The first group, as was natural, was sent to Holland, the second to Russia and the third to England.⁽¹⁾ At the same time some of the more liberal-minded Daimyos also sent students abroad.

These concessions to the progressive forces in Japan did little or nothing to strengthen the position of the Shogunate itself. Indeed, it became one of the major articles in the indictment levelled against the Government that it had made treaties with foreign powers and was adopting Western culture without permission from, and indeed in opposition to, the wishes of the Imperial Court. This argument appealed to the "patriotic" and reactionary elements in the population and, although it was soon proved false by the development in foreign contacts which followed the resumption of power by the Imperial House, it was nevertheless effective as a weapon in the hands of those who either through jealousy or for some praiseworthy reasons desired to see the power of the Tokugawa destroyed.

(1) In the last group was Baron Gonsuke Hayashi, recently Grand Master of Ceremonies of the Imperial Household and formerly Ambassador to Great Britain.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND—THE MEIJI ERA

I. THE RESTORATION

In December, 1867, Keiki Tokugawa, the fifteenth Shogun of that remarkable family, resigned into the hands of the Emperor the powers which the Shogun and his predecessors had enjoyed so long and, on the whole, used so wisely.⁽¹⁾ The Emperor, who by this act was restored to that position of pre-eminence in the state of which his predecessors had been deprived for over five hundred years, was then a boy of fifteen years of age. Mutsuhito, better known as the Emperor Meiji (this being the name of the period during which he reigned, and meaning Enlightened Government), was unquestionably one of the outstanding sovereigns in world history. During his reign, and to a considerable extent under his personal guidance, Japan developed from an insignificant and unknown nation of mediæval standards into one of the great powers of the 20th Century. In this transformation H. M. the Emperor played a significant and important rôle, and his interest in and fostering of educational movements was not the least of the important revolutionary changes which marked the Meiji era.

Among the accusations made against the Government at Yedo during the last few years of the Shogunate was the charge that the Shogun and his followers had fostered foreign intercourse and even concluded treaties with foreign powers. Thus the Tokugawa hierarchy, which had instituted and preserved the policy of isolation, was in the end

(1) *Murdoch. op. cit.* pp. 770-1. *Kikuchi. op. cit.*—p. 42.

destroyed by the criticism of those who had accepted the Tokugawa philosophy too seriously to be willing to see it violated even by its creators. Yet one of the earliest acts of the new Government which superseded that of the Shogun, and which had risen to power on the wave of anti-foreign sentiment which had overthrown the Tokugawas, was to "invite foreign representatives to the Imperial city where the Emperor himself received them in audience. Thereafter, an Imperial decree announced the sovereign's determination to cement amicable relations with foreign nations."⁽¹⁾ The truth was, of course, that both Japanese Governments would have preferred isolation if it could have been maintained inviolate and secure. But both were forced to realize that the urgent and imperialistic powers of the West would never permit the markets of Japan to remain outside the realm of their exploitation, and that therefore Japan had no power to resist their proposals. It became at once a case of adopting the learning and the methods of the West or of being subjected to the economic, if not indeed to the military and political, control of the great powers. Only by united national efforts was it possible to adopt the Western methods and thereby avoid national disintegration from Western control. The Government was united through the reestablishment of Imperial authority : and the united efforts followed through the inspired leadership of Emperor Meiji and that devoted loyalty and intense national spirit which have always characterized the Japanese.

But these far-reaching changes could not be brought about without internal stress and conflict. Some of the more enthusiastic supporters of the Shogunate even took up arms against their Imperial ruler, and for some months there was civil war. But of more serious import than this abortive military uprising were the "patriotic" efforts made both before and after the Restoration to discourage foreign intercourse and to end the study of "foreign learning terrorism." In his *Autobiography*, Yukichi Fukuzawa, who be-

(1) Brinkley. "A History of the Japanese People" N. Y. 1915.—p. 678.

came the outstanding educator of his day and the founder and president of Keio University, described this violent opposition in the following terms: "In the beginning people simply hated the foreigners because all foreigners were 'impure' men who should not be permitted to tread the sacred soil of Japan. Among these haters of foreigners the Samurai were the most daring. . . . Still there was no reason for them to turn on the subjects of Japan and so the students of foreign culture were yet safe from attack. Very quickly, however, the hatred of foreigners went through a tremendous development. It became more systematized, the objectives came to include many more persons, and the methods of slaughter became more refined. Moreover, political design was added to it, and since the assassination of Chancellor Li in 1860, the world seemed to become tense with bloody premonitions in the air.

"Tezuka Ritsuzo and Tojo Reizo were attacked by the Choshu clansmen for the simple reason that they were scholars of foreign affairs. Hanawa Jiro, a scholar of national literature, had his head cut off by an unknown man because of his sympathy for foreign culture. And the stores dealing in foreign goods were attacked for no other reason than that they sold foreign commodities which 'caused loss' to the country."⁽¹⁾

Fukuzawa himself was not immune from these dangers, and for some years he went in constant anticipation of physical violence because of his 'notorious' interest in and study of foreign culture. Not even the influence of the Emperor himself sufficed at first to wean the more conservative and violent elements of society from their inbred hostility towards all things foreign.

As time passed, however, this hostility towards foreigners, their customs, ideas, and habits died away, and without losing any of their characteristic devotion to their native land, the Japanese as a whole came to appreciate the value and the necessity of adopting some at least of the results

(1) *Autobiography of Fukuzawa*.—pp. 242-3.

of foreign science, learning and invention. That in some instances as a result of a natural failure at such a time to discriminate, the Japanese should have imported Western products that might better have been rejected is not surprising. Remembering, however, that so much was to be done and so little time was allotted to its accomplishment, students of Japan find it difficult to avoid the use of superlatives in describing the Japanese accomplishment. A realistic rather than a sentimental view of Japanese conditions during the first half of the 19th Century, and a comparison of these conditions with those existing at the end of the reign of the Emperor Meiji, lead inevitably to the conclusion that at no time in the history of the world has so radical a change, on so great a scale, been made with so little cause for regret.

II. EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE EMPEROR MEIJI

Japan was more than fortunate at the time of the Restoration in the character and abilities of the men who held positions of political responsibility. Here, we may compare her great men to those of the Elizabethan and Victorian eras in England. Faced with the problem of transforming an almost mediæval society into a modern capitalist state, and of bringing about this metamorphosis without allowing the predatory powers of America and Europe to gain a stronghold in the economic life of the islands, these statesmen were forced to call into action every resource of character, sentiment, training and religion which was likely to unify and strengthen the power of the nation. The policies adopted were carefully evolved and courageously applied. Nothing was left to chance, and nothing was overlooked. The fundamental objectives were clearly visualized and vigorously pursued. They may be summarized in the terms of *national unification, unquestioning loyalty, the acquirement of modern scientific and economic technique and the perfection of national defence.*

The Meiji statesmen pursued these ends with extraordinary perseverance and skill. Fundamental to their success was the reestablishment or revivification of the popular belief in the divinity of the Emperor. Although this belief had persisted throughout the whole course of Japanese history, it had been a latent or dormant rather than a dynamic article of their faith. Although the institution of the Shogunate had not destroyed the popular belief in the divine nature and origin of the Tenno (Emperor), it had, by the exercise of the practical powers of Government, forced the divine rulers into a seclusion which obscured, although it did not entirely obliterate, their influence on the popular mind. After 1867, as an act of policy as well as an act of worship, this situation was fundamentally altered. The Emperor was restored to the political and legal, as well as the spiritual, leadership of his people, and in the reverence of his deity national unification was gradually achieved. The primary concept instilled into the minds of the people, and which was particularly impressed upon the youthful generation, was the necessity for absolute loyalty to their sacred, just, and infallible ruler. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the influence that this concept has had upon the recent history of Japan. Without it the mediæval record of disorder, disunity and internal conflict might easily have continued with disastrous results in the relations of Japan with foreign powers. But with the tremendous unifying and stimulating power of this active belief in the divinity of the Tenno, Japan has been able to canalize and direct the national energies in a way that few nations could emulate, and perhaps none surpass.

Having established the basis of national unity the Meiji statesmen proceeded to erect on this foundation the edifice of Japan's modern state. For the achievement of this sound education was imperative. Japan could hope successfully to compete in the modern world only if the rulers of the state were supported by a trained as well as united people.

Thus the Japanese educational system was brought into being for certain specific and concrete purposes. It was designed as an instrument of national policy, and it has achieved its objectives more effectively perhaps than any other organization of its kind.

It is true that other countries have from time to time sought definite national ends through their educational systems, but in no other case has it been done so carefully, so persistently and so successfully as in Japan. Napoleon, for example, when inaugurating the educational system of modern France, did so with the immediate design of perpetuating the Empire that he had established. But his interest was almost exclusively confined to the training of efficient military and civil administrators; his attention was concentrated on secondary and university education, with the result that the people as a whole were not deeply affected, and they watched the destruction of the Napoleonic Empire by foreign foes with an apathy that would be incomprehensible to the Japanese of today. It was not until after the Franco-Prussian War (1890-1891) that primary education was made compulsory in France, and the defeat which the French then suffered was due in some measure at least to the fact that the soldiers of Prussia were the citizens of a state that had for a long time employed popular education as an instrument of national policy.⁽¹⁾

“Prussian schools were at first primarily intended for the training of the people as a whole. Rising from the necessities of a period of military defeat they became “under the inspiration of Pestalozzi . . . the wonder and model of Europe.”⁽²⁾ Later, however, after the defeat of democracy in 1848, and the establishment of a military state by the victories of 1866 and 1871, the emphasis in Prussian education gradually shifted until it became largely a machine for the production of military officers and officials for State bureaucracy.

(1) Ward. “*Educational System of England and Wales and Its Recent History.*” Cambridge 1935. p. 9.

(2) Ward. *op. cit.* p. 11.

Great Britain has never had a fully centralized and nationally-controlled educational system. In fact, it is only of recent years that she can be said to have had a national educational organization at all. It was not until Parliament passed the Board of Education Act of 1899 and the Education Act of 1902 that England had anything like a comprehensive machine, central and local, for the purpose of public education. Whereas the educational systems of France and Germany were designed to produce trained and loyal Frenchmen or Germans, until recent years the educational facilities of Great Britain were open to the accusation of being too largely occupied with inculcating caste rather than national loyalty, and it was Arnold of Rugby himself who described the duty of the schoolmaster to be the training of his students as, first, Christians, second, gentlemen, and third the possessors of knowledge; and it was often doubtful which of these three objectives had been reached, though it seemed that if there were any preference, the second included the other two.

In the United States of America educational authority is delegated to the individual States, and there is no Federal control. The result has been a great diversity of standards and a failure consciously and efficiently to use the educational system for the purpose of achieving national objectives. This is not to say that American schools do not teach nationalistic doctrines and often that type of "patriotism" that disgraces all educational systems. However, in the United States there is little uniformity and no central control over the educational machine. This results in extremes both admirable and reprehensible.

The situation in the Dominion of Canada is similar to that in the United States. Here, however, the students are stimulated to a somewhat wider range of loyalties, for in addition to their Province and the Dominion, they are trained in a sense of loyalty to the whole British Empire. Here again, however, there is no central agency that can change the whole tenor of a nation's be-

iefs and ideals by a single alteration in a national curriculum.

Outside Japan the most extraordinary examples of the use of the educational facilities for national ends are to be found in the modern totalitarian states. In Russia, Germany and Italy the schools have been made the centres of national training, and every instrument of modern psychological propaganda has been brought to bear on the receptive minds of the rising generation. What the ultimate effect of their concentrated efforts will be is yet too soon to estimate; but that they represent a dangerous perversion of the educational ideal is apparent to every serious observer. Organized education has often been accused of consisting of propaganda for the established order, and that there is a large measure of truth in this accusation no candid historian would attempt to deny. Yet it has only been in recent years that the propagandist technique has been so successfully developed that it can no longer be ignored as a danger threatening civilization itself. This development has come, moreover, at a time when experimental methods in education and the growth of the objective and scientific spirit among scholars were arousing the hope that education might actually provide a solution to international and class difficulties. H. G. Wells has popularized the vision of humanity engaged in a race between education and catastrophe, and of this there appears a real danger if the tendencies that are at present triumphant in so many parts of the educational world are allowed to proceed unchecked.

While recognizing the perils of a centralized educational system that is organized for purposes of national policy, there can be no doubt that at certain times and under certain conditions, such a system may produce amazing and beneficial results. Acknowledging the mistakes, shortcomings and dangerous tendencies inherent in the Japanese system, it can nevertheless be said that for the time it was introduced, and in the circumstances in which it operated in the 19th Century, its contribution to Japanese

welfare undoubtedly far outweighed its inherent limitations. It was inaugurated at a time of very real danger, and as much perhaps as any other single factor it enabled Japan to surmount the immediate difficulties with which the country was faced.

On the 6th of April, 1868, in the Throne Room of the old palace at Kyoto, and before the assembled Princes of the Blood and the high officials of his Court, the Emperor Meiji took the "Imperial Oath of Five Articles" which established the principles by which his rule was to be guided. As this is one of the most important documents in Japanese history its terms are worthy of careful study. The Five Articles were as follows :

- (I) Deliberative Assemblies shall be established and all measures of government shall be decided by public opinion.
- (II) All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the plan of government.
- (III) Officials, civil and military, and all common people shall, as far as possible, be allowed to fulfil their just desires, so that there may not be any discontent among them.
- (IV) Uncivilized customs of former times shall be broken through, and everything shall be based upon just and equitable principles of nature.
- (V) Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, so that the welfare of the Empire may be promoted.

In subscribing to these principles the Emperor added "Desiring to carry out a reform without parallel in the annals of Our country, We Ourselves here take the initiative and swear to the Deities of Heaven and Earth to adopt these fundamental principles of national government, so as to establish thereby the security and prosperity of the people. We call upon you all to make combined and strenuous efforts to carry them out."⁽¹⁾

The significance of the fifth Article in the educational

(1) *Kikuchi. op. cit. pp. 45-6. Ito. "Some Reminiscences of the Grant of the New Constitution," in Okuma. op. cit. vol. I. pp. 141-2.*

history of Japan can hardly be exaggerated, since it became at once the inspiration and the justification of Japanese policy from the date of its enunciation down to the outbreak of the World War.⁽¹⁾ The disillusionment which in Japan followed the breakdown of Western civilization in 1914 resulted in a growth of nationalistic feeling which, while it did not destroy the willingness of the Japanese to import the new inventions and ideas of Europe and America, nevertheless put a definite end to the old teacher-pupil relationship which up to that time had been willingly accepted by the majority of the Japanese.

The effect of the Emperor's determination to promote among his subjects the acquisition of foreign knowledge was immediate and extensive. The Government had already taken the first step in the campaign of enlightenment by establishing in Kyoto (in March 1868), and as a temporary expedient, a school for the promotion of literature. An organization similar to the mediæval university was reestablished and given supervision of all educational affairs. It was accorded the dual rôle of preparing young men of the nobility for public service and of acting as a Board for the examination and licensing of candidates for official positions.⁽²⁾ The need for trained men to assist in the re-orientation of Japanese life was obvious, and under the inspiration of the Imperial example the nobility set in turn an inspiring example of determined application in the acquisition of the necessary knowledge. All this was done, moreover, during a period of social upheaval and unrest.

During the first few years after the Restoration, however, little could be accomplished in the way of increasing educational facilities for those who lacked the financial means to provide for their own instruction. During 1868, the civil war was one of the effective causes of delay. The Government had taken over many of the schools from the Tokugawa régime, but in a large number of cases these were re-

(1) Miura. "Nippon Kyoikushi" Tokyo 1928. p. 8.

(2) Murray. *op. cit.*—pp. 114-116.

quisitioned for military purposes. The buildings were used as barracks or as military offices, and the medical schools and the hospitals served for the care of the sick and wounded soldiers. Further, governmental funds were meagre and subject to many competing demands.

Nevertheless, even in this first troubled year of the new régime important advances were made. In November, the Foreign Language School, established by the Shogunate in Yedo, was reopened under the direction of the new Educational Board. Both native and foreign teachers were employed in the teaching of English, Dutch, French, German and Russian. In December of the same year the old College of Confucius was reopened, and less than a year later, having been raised to the status of a Daigakko (university), it became the chief unit of the national system of education. The Kyoto University was supplanted and the Educational Board was abolished, the functions of the latter being taken over by the officials of the new Imperial University.⁽¹⁾

One of the great difficulties experienced by the leaders of the new educational movement was the lack of books. Fukuzawa, who had gathered about him in Tokyo a group of aspiring young students (the nucleus from which Keio University was later to develop), felt this need as urgently as did the others engaged in educational work, but fortunately he was in a position to contribute towards meeting it. In his *Autobiography* he relates how on his second journey to America in 1867 he received a "much larger allowance than on the previous one. With all my expenses being paid by the Government, I was able to purchase a good number of books. I bought many dictionaries of different kinds, texts in geography, history, law, economics, mathematics and of every sort I could secure. They were for the most part the first copies to be brought to Japan. Now with this large library I was able to let each of my students use the originals for study. This was certainly an unheard-

(1) For developments of this period see *Sato. op. cit.* Chap. VII.

of convenience—that all students could have the actual books instead of manuscript copies for their use.

“This use of American text-books in my school was the cause of the adoption all over the country of American books for the following ten years or more. Naturally, when students from my school, in turn, became teachers in various parts of the land, they used the texts they themselves had studied. It is not difficult then to see why those I had selected became the text-books of that day.”⁽¹⁾

Such an important matter as this could not, however, be left entirely to individual initiative, so that in October, 1869, a Bureau of Translation was established in the Foreign Language School, and to it was assigned the task of translating and compiling text-books from foreign sources. One of the first tasks undertaken was the compilation of an English-Japanese dictionary.

Even more important than the introduction of foreign books was the effort which was made to obey literally the Emperor’s injunction to seek knowledge throughout the world.⁽²⁾ In July, 1870, the major clans were instructed to select one or more of their most promising students and to send them to Tokyo to be educated at the Foreign Language School, at the expense of the central government. From the ranks of these *Koshusei* or “Tribute Youths” there were subsequently selected many of the students who studied abroad as official bursars of the Government of Japan. In the meanwhile, however, some of the more advanced students in the English and French division of the Foreign Language School were sent abroad to study science and literature, and during the same year a number of pupils from the medical college left to study European methods of therapy. As might have been expected, there was a very bitter competition in the selection of the students who were to go abroad. Fukuzawa described this competition in rather sardonic terms. “When I looked around to see what other men were doing in regard to their sons’ education,

(1) *Autobiography of Fukuzawa*—p. 212.

(2) *Kirotora and Tsuchidate. Meiji Gakusei Enkakushi.* Tokyo 1906. Chap. XII.

I found that most of them, scholars and officials, were trying in every way to have their sons appointed as government students to be sent to foreign countries. When, after all their negotiations and private manœuvres they succeeded in obtaining any appointment, they were as overjoyed as if they had killed some big game on a hunting trip. Of course, one might naturally wish a good education for a son, but to go around pleading like a beggar to have him educated—that seemed disgusting to me.”⁽¹⁾ The nominees of the Central Government were supplemented by a number of students despatched by the local, provincial and clan authorities, and even in some cases by those supported by the contributions of individual men of wealth and learning. In December, 1870, all students abroad were placed under the official control of the Board of Education in Tokyo.

No centralized system of educational control could be inaugurated so long as any part of the old feudal organization of the country remained intact. This the Government recognized and, following the Restoration, the problem was actively and seriously studied. Although the Restoration had been followed by the nominal abolition of feudalism, the *Daimyos* did not in fact relinquish all power into the hands of the central Government. It is true that they surrendered their fiefs to the Throne and received in compensation an annual income representing 1/10th of their former revenues, but as they were in most cases appointed governors of the new provinces (coextensive with the old fiefs), and as their retainers tended to become the provincial officials, the aristocracy did in fact retain a considerable degree of power. This situation was not satisfactory, and on the 29th of August, 1871, the two hundred and sixty-three old feudal divisions of the country were finally abolished and seventy-five new prefectures created. Moreover, the annual payments to the old *daimyo* and *samurai* families were consolidated into a single issue of national

(1) *Autobiography of Fukuzawa*.—p. 225.

bonds. This paved the way for the establishment of a unified system of education unhampered by local and personal loyalties.

The first two years of the Meiji era were years of experiment in Japanese education, and at many points the weaknesses of the older forms of organization became glaringly apparent. In the middle of the year 1870 all the schools were closed while the fabric of a new system was being constructed. The Government had now decided that the education of the people was of too much importance to be left to the control of any body less responsible than a distinct department of the Government. In January, 1871, therefore, all powers relating to education were vested in a new Department of Education known in Japan as the "Monbusho." This was perhaps the most important single step in the history of Japanese educational organization.⁽¹⁾ The Monbusho was given charge of the "general management of all educational matters, whether connected with the upper, middle or lower schools. It had power to make and change rules and regulations for schools ; to open, close, divide, and unite them ; to organize school districts ; to take charge of the erection of school-buildings ; to engage teachers, and to regulate the expenses of schools. This department had also charge of all affairs connected with medicine and medical education, and of the matter of licensing and regulating the publication of books and periodicals. All the institutions of learning which had been established in the capital and in other cities were transferred to this new department."⁽²⁾

Thus, Japan completed the paper organization of a system of schools designed to educate all the people. It would perhaps be well to recall here that compulsory education was introduced in England only one year earlier.⁽³⁾ Only sixty years earlier Church and State in England had united

(1) On the early history of the Monbusho see particularly "Monbusho Enkaku Ryakki. Published by the Monbusho, Tokyo 1880.

(2) Murray. *op. cit.*—p. 122.

(3) Russell. *Freedom and Organization.* London 1934. p. 135.

to defeat a bill designed to provide elementary schools throughout the country.

Dr. Izuka, the famous president of Meiji Gakuin, is reported to have said that "when Japan reached out after western ideas she copied her Navy from Great Britain, her Army from France, her medical science from Germany and her educational system from America."⁽¹⁾ So far as this generalization refers to education it must be modified by the observation that whatever its ultimate development in its early experiments, the educational system of Japan was radically influenced by that of the French Republic.⁽²⁾ One very important and entirely admirable feature of the new Japanese system should be mentioned at this point. In the new schools the Japanese authorities made no distinction between the various social classes. Influenced by a desire to get as far as possible away from the caste organization of the feudal period, and imbibing eagerly the educational, if not the political theories of Spencer, Neill and their English and American followers, the rulers of new Japan were prepared to establish a democratic equality in the schools. Under the exalted and supreme rule of the Tenno all were to be united in a democracy of learning and service.⁽³⁾ The new educational machinery was logical in organization and perfect in detail—on paper. Under the central control of the Department of Education the whole country was divided into eight university sections. Each university was to control thirty-two (32) middle school sections: and each middle school to control two hundred and ten (210) primary schools. Then 53,760 primary schools were to be established at one time. This was in the ratio of a school to every six hundred (600) people, not an excessive number perhaps in a country where the tradition of compulsory national education was well established, and in which the Government was wealthy enough to stand the financial

(1) Brown. "Japan in the World of Today" N. Y. 1928. p. 108. Chamberlain. *op. cit.*—p. 131.

(2) Watanabe. *Nihon Kyoiku Gakusetsu no Kenkyu.* Tokyo 1921. Chap. I. Sect. I.

(3) Yoshiba. "Education in Japan." *Japan Advertiser* 30th May, 1930.

burden. But neither of these conditions existed in Japan.⁽¹⁾ In contrast to Europe, where the demand for education came from below and developed slowly over a long period of years, in Japan education was imposed from above as an act of national policy. Even had the general demand existed, the national finances could not have withstood the sudden and drastic increase in taxation necessitated by this sudden and colossal expansion of the educational service. Thus, while the school facilities were expanded as rapidly as possible, it was found to be quite impracticable to attempt to carry out the full terms of the new proposals.

The Department of Education as originally organized was divided into three bureaux—The Bureau of Special Education, the Bureau of Common Education and the Bureau of Technical Education. These three bureaux divided the duties of the Department in the following manner :

BUREAU OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

- 1) Imperial Universities.
- 2) Koto Gakko (Higher Schools or colleges preparatory to the Imperial Universities).
- 3) Senmon Gakko or special colleges.
- 4) Other schools of same grades.
- 5) Students and teachers sent abroad.
- 6) Libraries and Museums.
- 7) Astronomical and meteorological observatories.
- 8) Encouragement of arts and sciences.
- 9) Earthquake Investigation Commission.
- 10) Imperial Academy.
- 11) Scientific, literary and other learned societies.
- 12) Degrees and other honorary titles.
- 13) Medical and pharmaceutical honour examinations.

BUREAU OF COMMON EDUCATION

- 1) Normal Schools.
- 2) Middle Schools.
- 3) Elementary Schools and Kindergarten.
- 4) Girls' High Schools.

(1) See Yoshida "European and American Influences on Japanese Education." In Nitobe. "Western Influences in Modern Japan" Chicago 1931. p.p. 28-29.

- 5) Schools for Blind and Deaf-mutes.
- 6) Miscellaneous schools of lower grades.
- 7) Educational museums.
- 8) Popular education and educational societies.
- 9) School attendance.

BUREAU OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION

- 1) Industrial and technological education.
- 2) Agricultural education (including forestry, etc.)
- 3) Commercial education.
- 4) Public and private navigation schools.
- 5) Apprentice schools and technical supplementary schools.
- 6) Miscellaneous schools of similar grades.
- 7) Government subsidies to technical schools.
- 8) Training of teachers for technical schools.

A Higher Educational Council was organized to advise the Minister, and in its membership included the Presidents of the Imperial Universities, two Directors of Normal Schools, representatives of the Army and Navy, the Director of the Foreign Language School, the President of the Imperial Academy and other officials and private citizens whose positions or services entitled them to inclusion.⁽¹⁾

Change followed change, and innovation succeeded innovation in rapid succession during the first few years after the nationalization of the educational system. In September, 1871, the hybrid system of Japanese and European methods of instruction was abolished by the foreign language schools, and thenceforward all teaching was done in accordance with foreign methods and by more competent instructors. The old method of admitting students only on the recommendation of provincial governments was abolished and the schools were thrown open to all applicants who could pass a satisfactory examination. Those who gave evidence of unusual ability were even given the opportunity to go abroad to study.

In February, 1872, the first fully-equipped school for girls was opened in Tokyo. This marked an innovation in

(1) *Kikuchi*. *op. cit.*—p. 60.

the Japanese system, as before this the provision made for the instruction of girls had been most inadequate.⁽¹⁾ This whole subject of women's education will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter. In May of 1872 the Tokyo Normal School was opened with an American as chief instructor in methods of teaching in elementary schools.⁽²⁾ This school was designed to train teachers in modern methods of instruction, and particular emphasis was laid upon the necessity of using these methods in the elementary schools. Students admitted to this Tokyo Normal School were supported by the Government. The supply of trained teachers was of course quite inadequate to provide for the demands outlined in the educational policy of the day.

In August, 1872, the new educational laws were proclaimed throughout Japan, and in spite of considerable modification, these laws still remain as the framework of the Japanese educational system.

The following quotation from the Proclamation which preceded the promulgation of the Educational Code is of more than passing significance as it emphasizes the essentially utilitarian nature of Japanese education. Both in their historical development and in their present tendencies the educational principles of Japan have been designed to accomplish two ends—to promote morality and to provide instruction which will facilitate the earning of a living. There is little love of learning for its own sake today as compared with the past; also relatively little understanding or appreciation of the value of the æsthetic and intellectual development in their effect upon the character. Even today this criticism is commonly voiced by both Japanese and foreign critics, but it was still more obvious in 1872, or the days when all Japan so zealously strove to copy the West, and when the pragmatic yardstick was the measure of all reforms. In a proclamation published just before the promulgation of the Code the Administrative Council declared :

(1) *Kuroda*. *op. cit.* Chap. VIII. and *Tsubidate*.

(2) *Saionji*. *op. cit.* p. 163.

"It is only by building up his character, developing his mind, and cultivating his talents that man may make his way in the world, employ his wealth wisely, make his business to prosper, and thus attain the goal of life. But man cannot build up his character, develop his mind, or cultivate his talents without education—that is the reason for the establishment of schools. Language, writing, and arithmetic, to begin with, are daily necessities in military affairs, government, agriculture, trade arts, law, politics, astronomy, and medicine; there is not, in short, a single phase of human activity which is not based on learning. Only by striving in the line of his natural aptitude can man prosper in his undertakings, accumulate wealth and succeed in life.

Learning is the key to success in life, and no man can afford to neglect it. It is ignorance that leads man astray, makes him destitute, disrupts his family, and in the end destroys his life. Centuries have elapsed since schools were first established, but man has gone astray through misguidance. Learning being viewed as the exclusive privilege of the Samurai and his superiors, farmers, artisans, merchants, and women have neglected it altogether and know not even its meaning. Even those few among the Samurai and his superiors who did pursue learning were apt to claim it to be for the state, not knowing that it was the very foundation of success in life. They indulged in poetry, empty reasoning, and idle discussions, and their dissertations, while not lacking in elegance, were seldom applicable to life. This was due to our evil traditions and, in turn, was the very cause which checked the spread of culture, hampered the development of talent and accomplishments, and sowed the seeds of poverty, bankruptcy, and disrupted homes. Every man should therefore pursue learning; and in so doing he should not misconstrue its purpose. Accordingly, the Department of Education will soon establish an educational system and will revise the regulations relating thereto from time to time; wherefore there shall, in the future, be no community with an illiterate family, nor a family with an illiterate person. Every guardian, acting in accordance with this, shall bring up his children with tender care, never failing to have them attend school. (While advanced education is left to the ability and means of the individual, a guardian who fails to send a young child, whether a boy or a girl, to primary school shall be deemed negligent of his duty.)

Heretofore, however, the evil tradition which looked upon

learning as the privilege of the Samurai and his superiors, and as being for the state, caused many to depend upon the government for the expenses of education, even to such items as food and clothing; and, failing to receive such support, many wasted away their lives by not going to school. Hereafter such errors must be corrected, and every man shall, of his own accord, subordinate all other matters to the education of his children."⁽¹⁾

Under the terms of the new laws the old schools maintained by the provincial governments were abolished and replaced by others organized in accordance with the principles and regulations of the Department. Two months later, therefore, the Bureau of Superintendence was organized and assigned the duties of inspecting, supervising and reporting upon the activities of the schools.

In addition to outlining a programme which called for the establishment of 8 universities, 256 middle schools and 53,760 elementary schools, the Code of 1872 made provision for a system of private schools to be established by individuals to whom licenses had been issued.

The primary schools which were to be the basis of the whole system, and upon which the Government relied for the production of a trained and loyal people, were established on a flexible basis in order that they might be adapted to local needs and specific requirements. Five different types are listed by Professor Yoshida, including in addition to Kindergarten, ordinary primary schools, primary schools for girls, village primary schools, primary schools for the poor, and private schools. The private schools were conducted in the houses of certificated primary school teachers. Schools for the poor were not widely established, as in most instances poor children attended the ordinary schools. In some cases, however, special schools were formed and maintained by grants from the well-to-do residents of the given locality. The village primary schools admitted adults and were often held in the evenings.⁽²⁾

(1) *Yoshida.* *op. cit.* pp. 34-35.

(2) *Yoshida.* *op. cit.* pp. 31-32.

Attendance at school was nominally compulsory from the date the Code was promulgated. But in spite of the beginnings of a nationally organized inspectorate system this plan could not in the early days of national education be rigidly enforced.

The course in the ordinary elementary school was designed to cover the years six to thirteen, and was divided into two courses of four years each. The Middle School programme was similarly divided into two courses, each of three years, although provision was made for wide variations. The Middle School system was declared to include such special schools as the foreign language schools, technical schools and continuation schools.

The schools were to be financed by fees, Government subsidies, and local taxation. Under the law Government expenditure in education was confined to

- A. Salaries and expenses for foreign teachers,
- B. Cost of buildings, books and instruments for the Universities and Middle Schools,
- C. Bursaries for poor but meritorious students and scholars sent abroad,
- D. Subsidies for the support of elementary schools.

From the beginning there was considerable variation in the fees demanded of students in the various schools. In the majority of cases they amounted only to a few Sen a month, and in a great many instances no charge whatever was made. The various school districts attempted to support their schools by inviting donations from the wealthier residents, by levying taxes, and by appealing for Government subsidies. In all too many cases the results were unsatisfactory. The fact was that the country could not afford the machinery for which the legislative plans had been drawn up.

"The grand scheme of educational organization set forth in this first Education Code could not, unfortunately, be carried out in its entirety. The truth is that it was too ambitious a scheme to be carried out practically and in such a hurry as its authors contemplated; it is said to have been

modelled on French and Dutch systems, and did not take into sufficient consideration the actual condition of the country, nor the fact of men and means to execute it.”⁽¹⁾

Nevertheless, the next few years did see a remarkable development, as the following figures will testify:—

Year	No. of Elementary Schools.		No. of Elementary Schools.		No. of Middle Schools.		Percentage of children attending Elementary Schools.	
	Public	Private	Boys	Girls	Public	Private	Boys	Girls
1873	7,995	4,563	879,170	266,632	3	17	28%	Boys & Girls combined
1874	17,696	2,321	1,297,240	417,528				
1875								
1876								
1877								
1878								
1879	26,710	1,315	1,717,422	597,648	107	677	58%	23%

Year	No. of Middle School Pupils		No. of Normal Schools	No. of Normal School Graduates.	
	Boys	Girls		Men	Women
1873	1,747	20			
1874			53		
1875					
1876					
1877					
1878					
1879	37,281	22,748	89	1,919	72

(2)

As early as 1873 modifications in the educational plan were being made. In that year the eight university districts were reduced to seven with their centres in Tokyo, Aichi, Osaka, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Niigata and Miyagi. In the same year Dr. David Murray of Rutgers College arrived in Tokyo to enter upon his duties as Superintendent of Education, and from that time the influence of American

(1) *Kikuchi*. *op. cit.*—pp. 74-75.

(2) *Kikuchi*. *op. cit.*—pp. 75-76.

education and ideals became gradually more effective in Japan. Dr. Murray himself probably did more than any other one man to influence the trend of educational development in Japan.

One of the most serious difficulties facing the directors of the new educational system was that of finding suitable teachers. Here again American influence was soon to predominate as the Institute for the Training of Elementary School Teachers, which was founded in the same year that the Code was promulgated, was placed in the hands of a specialist imported from the United States who instituted a system of training which was almost identical with that used in American Normal Schools.⁽¹⁾

It is impossible to examine the history of this period without recognizing the constant and growing emphasis upon the teaching of English. In December of 1874, all the Foreign Language Schools except that in Tokyo were reconstituted as English Language Schools. Even that in Tokyo was divided into two branches, one for the teaching of English and the other for French, German, Chinese or Russian.⁽²⁾ It is difficult to exaggerate the difficulties experienced by the Japanese students who, in addition to the terrific impact of a whole new form of civilization, were faced with the necessity of maintaining the fundamental traditions of their own culture, and in particular of using their own incredibly complicated written language for the expression of completely new and exotic concepts of life. The reaction against the use of Chinese characters found its strongest champion in Viscount Mori, the versatile and energetic Minister of Education between the years 1885 and 1889. Viscount Mori went so far as to suggest the complete abandonment of the Japanese language and the adoption of English as the national language. "Without the aid of Chinese," he wrote, "our language has never been taught or used for any purpose of communication. This shows its poverty. The march of modern civilization in Japan has

(1) *Yoribida*. *op. cit.* p. 36.

(2) *Murray*. *op. cit.*—p. 186.

already reached the heart of the nation—the English language following it suppresses the use of both Japanese and Chinese. The commercial power of the English-speaking race which now rules the world drives our people into some knowledge of their commercial ways and habits. The absolute necessity of mastering the English language is thus forced upon us. It is a requisite of the maintenance of our independence in the community of nations. Under the circumstances, our meagre language, can never be of any use outside of our islands, especially when the power of steam and electricity shall have pervaded the land. Our intelligent race, eager in the pursuit of knowledge, cannot depend upon a weak and uncertain medium of communication in its endeavour to grasp the principal truths from the precious treasury of Western science and art and religion. The laws of the state can never be preserved in the language of Japan. All reasons suggest its disuse.”⁽¹⁾ This drastic “root and branch” proposal did not, of course, meet with popular favour.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION

The year 1874 also saw the beginnings of a definite system of commercial education. Throughout the Tokugawa era the only practical form of education for those who intended to follow a commercial career was found in the system of apprenticeship.⁽²⁾ Under the stimulus of Japan’s new contacts with foreign countries, and the tremendous increase of trade resulting from it, exclusive dependence upon the system of apprenticeship was quickly shown to be inadequate. The Government had passed the National Bank Act in 1872, and in 1874 the Kwaiki Koshusho, an institute for the training of students in bookkeeping and accountancy, was opened. An English banker was employed as instructor, and although the institute operated on a comparatively modest scale it exerted a powerful influ-

(1) Mori. *op. cit.*—p. LVI.

(2) Amano. *op. cit.* pp. 179–180. See also “*Commercial History of Japan*” by Thomas & Keyama”, *Tokyo* (1936), p. 118.

ence. In 1875 Viscount Mori, proving again his native energy and foresight, established at his own expense a Commercial Training School in Owaricho, which is now the Piccadilly Circus or Times Square of Tokyo. From this beginning there ultimately developed the Tokyo Higher Commercial School.⁽¹⁾ Other schools on a similar model were gradually organized throughout the country.

By 1879 it was apparent that the Code of 1872 had been planned on such an ambitious scale that it was impossible to apply it, and that the law should be changed in recognition of this fact. Accordingly, in September, 1879, the old Code was abolished and a new Code promulgated. This new Code was in turn modified during the following year, with the general result that the work of the elementary schools was greatly simplified. Instead of attempting to give all students the type of elementary education which would be suitable for the son of a wealthy family who intended to go on to further studies in middle school and university, it now became the object of the elementary school to give its students the moral and practical training which would result in their being better prepared to meet the ordinary demands of everyday life. The teaching of morals was established more firmly than ever as being of first importance in the curriculum, and the other subjects taught in the elementary schools were reduced in number and simplified. Morals, reading, writing and arithmetic formed the foundation of the course, and to these could be added, at the discretion of the local authorities, suitable instruction in drawing, singing, physics, geography, history, physiology, gymnastics, natural history, and (for girls) sewing.

In the Code of 1879-1880 the arbitrary school districts outlined in the Code of 1872 were abolished, and it was left to the discretion of each local division (*cho* or *son*) to establish individual or joint schools. School committees were elected by the people themselves, and in some cases where it was found impossible to establish an independent

(1) *Amano. op. cit.* pp. 179-180.

school, a system of travelling teachers was organized which reduced the cost and yet provided some elementary instruction for the students in the villages they served. The school age remained six to thirteen years, but the law only demanded attendance for sixteen months during that period, although parents and guardians were placed under an obligation to make their children attend school for at least sixteen weeks a year until the first three years of the course were completed. General instruction for the guidance of local school authorities were issued by the Minister of Education and these were sufficiently detailed to ensure a great degree of uniformity in both the substance of the teaching and the methods employed. At the same time the financial burden of the schools was placed entirely on the shoulders of the local authorities and subsidies from the central Government were abolished.⁽¹⁾ This system, which was introduced by the new Minister of Education, Fujimaro Tanaka, was based on the ideal of local educational autonomy in the American system, and of which Mr. Tanaka was a great admirer. Unfortunately, the people of Japan were not as yet entirely ready to undertake the responsibilities and make the sacrifices which such local autonomy demanded. In some districts the authorities, in order to save expense, closed the schools entirely, and in many places there were complaints and protests against the financial burden imposed.

This financial burden imposed upon the local authorities resulted in the extension of fee-paying by students. This was contrary to all Japanese precedents, as Fukuzawa, who first introduced the system into Keio-Gijuku in 1868 has explained. Before this time "it was customary for the students to present some gift of money on entering, as a private formality. This was probably an imitation of the Chinese custom. After this they revered the master as *Sensei*,⁽²⁾ and about twice a year they brought presents to him. These gifts were sometimes money, sometimes ar-

(1) *Kikuchi*. *op. cit.*—pp. 77-8. *Yoshiba*. *op. cit.*—p. 38.

(2) Japanese title for "Professor." Literally, "born before."

ties, always presented in the old convention of wrappings and *noshi* (ceremonial seals). They represented tuition, in quantity or value, according to the financial status of the students' families.

"It seemed to us that no teacher would really give his best and most vigorous work under such a system. For teaching is a man's work, too. Why then should not a man accept money for his work? We would openly charge a fixed amount for our instruction, no matter what other people might say about it. So we composed a new word 'Jugyōro' for tuition and ordered each student to bring two *bū* every month."⁽¹⁾ It was, of course, much easier to introduce this system into the advanced private school such as Keio-Gijuku than it was to establish it as a principle among the mass of the people who, in any event, could with difficulty afford to spend even the smallest sum on education. In a very short time it was found necessary to restore the system of Government grants to the local authorities. One interesting development of this period was the introduction of western music which, under the direction of an American instructor, began to be taught in the schools shortly after 1880.

A further modification of the educational system was effected in 1885-6, when the direct control was placed in the hands of the prefectural authorities, subject to the unifying influence of the Department of Education. At the same time the Educational Ordinance was superseded by three new Ordinances relating respectively to elementary schools, normal schools and universities.⁽²⁾

Viscount Mori now became Minister of Education, and he introduced many changes in the educational system. The most important of these resulted from his determination to improve the standard of teaching. With some minor modifications the system of normal training which he introduced is still in force. Much emphasis was laid on moral and physical training, which were both inculcated

(1) *Autobiography of Fukuzawa*.—pp. 222-3.

(2) *Saiorji* "National Education in the Meiji Era." In *Okuma* *op. cit.* p. 165.

by methods of semi-military discipline. A retired general was appointed as director of the Government Higher Normal School in Tokyo, and under his jurisdiction teachers were trained for positions on the staff of the prefectoral normal schools. As a result the spirit of military patriotism became disseminated throughout the whole teaching profession. At the same time the system of school inspection was revived and placed on a more effective footing.⁽¹⁾

The history of this period should not be considered without reference to the part played by foreign instructors who were employed by the Japanese authorities to teach not only their languages but many of the subjects of western learning which the Japanese students were so anxious to acquire. In many cases the results were satisfactory, but there are also far too many instances of the employment of foreigners whose only qualification as teachers was the accident of their birth. Seamen, beachcombers, ne'er-do-wells of many kinds, in addition to some of the missionaries whose religious zeal was often more pronounced than their academic qualifications, were employed in good faith and at high salaries to impart a knowledge which in many cases they were thought to have but did not.⁽²⁾ The late Dr. Nitobe has described some of the foreign teachers of the day in the following drastic terms. "The teachers employed were not seldom deserters from the Navy, stowaways from European havens, bankrupt rogues from the open port of China, discharged clerks from import houses, etc. Their claim to the right to teach was their white skin. I very much doubt if there was a single . . . Christian among them."⁽³⁾ Dr. Nitobe's diatribe is undoubtedly an unfair generalization, but it does give a rather vivid picture of a characteristic difficulty of the period. The importance of this failure to discriminate between competent and incompetent foreign teachers should not be exaggerated, although it may perhaps be added that even today a greater care in the selection of North American

(1) Kikuchi. *op. cit.* p. 81.

(2) Thomas. *op. cit.*—p. 11. Kozaki. *op. cit.*—pp. 45-46.

(3) Nitobe. "Reminiscences of Childhood." Tokyo 1934. p. 33.

and European instructors would be amply justified by the improvement in the standards of teaching. It is unfortunate that today, when the supply of trained foreign teachers readily available for employment in Japan is so great, some of those engaged should be inadequate in training and personality. A certain parsimony in the Ministry of Education in recent years has aggravated this situation.

Although in some instances the foreign teachers who were employed at this time were attached to Government schools, in most instances they were employed in private institutions. The influence of these private schools—such as Keio-Gijiku, Kyoritsu Gakusha, Doshisha, Tatsurido and Tokyo Eiwa Gakko—on the history of Japanese education would well repay extended study, for in the field of secondary education they may be said to have quite overshadowed the Government schools during the latter part of the 19th Century.⁽¹⁾ It is due to them in no small part that Japanese educators recognize the value of private institutions “as supplementary and not antagonistic to a Government system which, when left without competition and when too carefully protected is sure to become enslaved in form and narrow in spirit.”⁽²⁾

The increased emphasis placed upon moral and ethical training after 1880 was not a fortuitous development. The impact of foreign influences upon the traditional culture of Japan had resulted in a state of social disturbance and ideological confusion such as Japan had never before experienced. Old standards and old restraints were overthrown, and far too many of the newer generation were applying themselves to the utilization of imported knowledge for personal material advantage, without too close a regard for the ethical and social customs which had done so much to excuse and humanize the inequalities and the suffering of earlier periods of Japanese history. Utilitarianism, always a prominent characteristic of Japanese civiliza-

(1) *Ukita*, *op. cit.* pp. 153-8.

(2) *Lombard*, *op. cit.*—p. 225. See also *Kuroda* and *Tsuchidate*. *op. cit.* Chap. III. Sect 2.

tion, had been strengthened in the early days of the new régime by the obvious necessities of the situation, and had been supported theoretically by the educational principles of Herbert Spenser which had been introduced direct from England and indirectly through the United States of America. This tendency now, however, had developed in the receptive Japanese atmosphere to an unprecedented degree. Baron Kikuchi, in describing this era, told how the "beautiful five-storied pagoda of the Kofukuji Temple in Nara, more than a thousand years old, was sold for some two hundred yen to a private individual who proposed to burn it down as the cheapest way of getting at the gold used as ornaments, and was only prevented by the remonstrances of Nara people against the danger of fire spreading to other buildings."⁽¹⁾

It was a time of iconoclastic energy, when old ideals and old restraints were being cast aside, and when new business, social and political activities were threatening to result in the moral disintegration of the state.

Fortunately then, as at other critical periods in the history of Japan, the country was not lacking in men who could appreciate the threatening danger and could evolve measures to divert its impact. Efforts were made to animate the teaching of ethics, and the Emperor himself was moved to utilize the tremendous force of his unique and supreme influence in the hearts and minds of his people to state anew the duty of all loyal Japanese to walk in the Way set forth in the teachings of the Imperial Ancestors and followed through so many generations by the finest spirits among the people of Japan. On the 30th of October, 1890, therefore, the Emperor Meiji issued the Imperial Rescript on Education which is still the accepted statement of the principles underlying the educational system of Japan. This Rescript is worthy of close examination, and its full and official translation is as follows :

(1) *Kikuchi*. *op. cit.*—p. 71.

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON EDUCATION

Know ye, Our Subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.
(The 30th of October, 1890).

(Imperial Sign Manual. Imperial Seal).

The full significance of this Rescript can only be appreciated by those who understand the peculiar relationship of the Imperial House to the Japanese people. It is, of course, generally known that the people of Japan look upon the Imperial Family as of divine descent, and that during the two thousand six hundred years⁽¹⁾ of its unbroken rule they have revered it with awed devotion that is entirely different from the combination of respect and affection that marks, for example, the attitude of the average subject of the British Monarch to his sovereign. Indeed, so unusual is the attitude of the Japanese patriot that it is often said that it can be understood by no-one who is not himself a Japanese, and the longer the foreigner stays in Japan the more he is able to believe this.

In view of the semi-religious devotion to the Emperor which reinforces the natural patriotism of the Japanese, it is not surprising to learn that the Imperial Rescript had an immediate and definite effect upon the attitude of the people of Japan towards education. The moral and ethical training which is still the fundamental object of Japanese education is based on this Rescript, and is declared to be nothing more than an expansion and an exposition of those tenets which it sets forth. Consequently, although it is generally stated that there is no religious training given in Japanese schools, this declaration must be modified by a recognition of the fact that the ethical concepts embodied in this Rescript have had, and to a great extent still have, an emotional and religious sanction behind them. Whether, therefore, this sanction is sufficient to vitalize the ethical principles which it is used to endorse could well be made the subject of a prolonged and serious consideration. The most thoughtful element among the Japanese people would probably be inclined to express some doubt. But that it did aid the rulers of Japan in resisting the sudden outburst of iconoclastic enthusiasm in the last decade of the 19th Century cannot be questioned by an historian of that period.

(1) In 1940, year of the Tokyo Olympic Games, the Japanese Empire will celebrate the 2,600th year of its foundation.

The increased emphasis that was now placed on moral training was reflected in the comparative decline in British and American influence in Japanese educational philosophy during the decade of the 80's and the enthusiasm with which educational theorists during that time devoted themselves to the study and propagation of the principles of the Herbartian School of German Pedagogy. It was felt that in this system was to be found the ideal combination of moral training and the acquirement of knowledge, thus avoiding the dangers of the theories propounded by Spenser (with their lack of moral emphasis), and of Pestalozzi (whose students were accused of failing to acquire the requisite complement of information).⁽¹⁾

The utilitarian and moral aspects of Japanese training were emphasized in developments subsequent to 1890. In the following year the regulations governing the methods of instruction in elementary schools were issued and in the first article stated "In education the greatest attention should be paid to moral culture. Hence, whatever is found in any course of study relating to moral or national education should be taught with care and assiduity. All teaching being based upon matters essential to life, lessons should be so taught that they may all be turned to practical uses."⁽²⁾

In 1893, Viscount Inouye, Minister of Education, established the Institute for Technical School Teachers and began a campaign to increase the attention paid to technical subjects. In 1894, Marquis (as he then was) Saionji became Minister of Education, and in the following year the first public high schools for girls were established. Under his enlightened and liberal administration, teachers' salaries were raised, studies in educational hygiene were initiated and Government inspectors (a service which had been abolished in 1893) were reappointed. In 1898 a new Imperial University was established in Kyoto and it incorporated a College of Science and Engineering.⁽³⁾

(1) *Yoshida. op. cit.* pp. 38-43.

(2) *Saionji. op. cit.* p. 167.

(3) *Saionji. op. cit.* p. 167.

1894 also saw the issuance of a proclamation by the Monbusho calling upon all prefectoral governments to investigate and provide for the physical welfare of the students in the primary schools. Two years later a Board of Counsellors in School Hygiene was organized in the Department of Education.⁽¹⁾ It is difficult to over-stress the importance that should be attached to this official interest in the physical well-being of the students of the Empire, and the tremendous improvement in the national physique which has been noted over the last two generations is due in no small measure to the studies made by these pioneers in student welfare.

In 1899, regulations were issued compelling each prefecture to establish at least one middle school and one girls' high school. By 1901 there were 215 middle schools and 69 girls' high schools. Although these figures are not impressive in view of the tremendous number of children seeking education, they represent a considerable advance over earlier conditions.

The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), while it resulted in a reduction in the amount of money devoted to education, did not seriously hamper the work of the Monbusho, and both teachers and officials carried on their tasks in the spirit demanded by the Emperor himself when he wrote "Though the nation is in a state of war education shall by no means be neglected. All educators shall do their duty with zeal and assiduity."⁽²⁾ All the schools that had been planned were therefore opened, viz. the Genro or Senior Statesman.

That the educational system was still imperfect will be seen from the following statement prepared and published in 1907 by the man who is today the most revered subject of His Imperial Majesty, viz. the Genro or Senior Statesman.

"The following statement concerning Japanese education, which it will be seen points to certain forthcoming changes

(1) *Kuroda*. *op. cit.* p. 1119. Physical examinations were first inaugurated in certain districts in 1888.

(2) Quoted in *Saionji*.—*op. cit.* p. 171.

in the system now in vogue, and to the reasons therefore, has been very recently (July 1909) transmitted to the Western Press:

"A new system of education for Japan has been prepared under the superintendence of Mr. Komatsubara, the Minister of Education, and it will shortly be submitted to the consideration of the High Council of Education.

"It seems to be the general opinion throughout the country that Japan cannot successfully compete with Occidentals as long as she retains her present system of education. The main reason is that education takes too long in Japan. According to the present system a boy enters a primary school, where he spends five years, and then goes on to a high school for three years, graduating at a university after a three or four years' course, according to subjects.⁽¹⁾ If no time at all were wasted, students would graduate at one of the Imperial universities at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four. But, owing to the insufficiency of the high schools and the difficulty of passing the competitive entrance examination held each year, added to the difficulty of passing through the high schools in less than four or five years, the number of students who reach the age of thirty by the time they have finished their university course is very large. The shortening of the course must lead to the lessening of the subjects to be studied. Specialization will begin in the secondary schools.

"The greatest difficulty of all connected with education in Japan is the extreme complexity of the Japanese language. Japanese students to-day are attempting what is only possible to the strongest and cleverest of them, that is to say, two or three in every hundred. They are trying to learn their own language, which is in reality two languages, blended or confused the one with the other, according to the point of view, while attempting to learn English and German, and in addition studying technical subjects like law, medicine, engineering, or science.

"For years past the Department of Education has been again and again entreated to allow either English or German to be dropped according to the subjects studied by high school students, but the reply has always been that the Imperial universities insist on having both languages taught. The Japanese teachers at the high schools have demonstrated that the pro-

(1) This is not an accurate statement of the steps to be taken today by a student proceeding to the University.

gress made in either of these foreign languages is miserably slow, owing to the excessive demands made on the students' powers by other subjects.

"The result of the present system of education in the case of a large number of students is exhausted physical powers and lack of thorough efficiency in any subject. Many students after graduation at the university find themselves quite unfit to enter upon the duties of life with that energy essential to success."⁽¹⁾

Following the Russo-Japanese War, Japan experienced a sudden expansion in all departments of her national economy. The prestige of the country was much enhanced by this successful conflict with one of the world's great powers. Commerce and industry which had developed during the conflict expanded still further in the subsequent years, and contacts with other states increased in frequency and importance. It is not surprising, therefore, that this rising tide of economic and political activity should be attended by insistent demands for changes in the educational system which would enable the Japanese people more adequately to meet their increased responsibilities. Recognizing the justice and importance of this demand, the Government, on the 21st of March, 1907, amended Article 18 of the Elementary School Act by extending the time of compulsory education from four to six years.⁽²⁾ This was one of the really important events in the modern history of Japanese Education.

The extension of the period of compulsory education made necessary certain other adjustments in the school system. The length of the courses of the higher primary school was reduced to two years with a third year optional, but special encouragement was extended to students to attend supplementary courses at technical continuation schools. At the same time the teaching standard was raised and applicants for teaching positions were required to submit to examinations in subjects from which until then

(1) Quoted in *Saionji*.—*op. cit.* 173-4.

(2) "Fifty Years of the Japanese Educational System" Prepared by the Department of Education. Tokyo 1922. Chapter 7. Section I.

in the system now in vogue, and to the reasons therefore, has been very recently (July 1909) transmitted to the Western Press :

" A new system of education for Japan has been prepared under the superintendence of Mr. Komatsubara, the Minister of Education, and it will shortly be submitted to the consideration of the High Council of Education.

" It seems to be the general opinion throughout the country that Japan cannot successfully compete with Occidentals as long as she retains her present system of education. The main reason is that education takes too long in Japan. According to the present system a boy enters a primary school, where he spends five years, and then goes on to a high school for three years, graduating at a university after a three or four years' course, according to subjects.⁽¹⁾ If no time at all were wasted, students would graduate at one of the Imperial universities at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four. But, owing to the insufficiency of the high schools and the difficulty of passing the competitive entrance examination held each year, added to the difficulty of passing through the high schools in less than four or five years, the number of students who reach the age of thirty by the time they have finished their university course is very large. The shortening of the course must lead to the lessening of the subjects to be studied. Specialization will begin in the secondary schools.

" The greatest difficulty of all connected with education in Japan is the extreme complexity of the Japanese language. Japanese students to-day are attempting what is only possible to the strongest and cleverest of them, that is to say, two or three in every hundred. They are trying to learn their own language, which is in reality two languages, blended or confused the one with the other, according to the point of view, while attempting to learn English and German, and in addition studying technical subjects like law, medicine, engineering, or science.

" For years past the Department of Education has been again and again entreated to allow either English or German to be dropped according to the subjects studied by high school students, but the reply has always been that the Imperial universities insist on having both languages taught. The Japanese teachers at the high schools have demonstrated that the pro-

(1) This is not an accurate statement of the steps to be taken today by a student proceeding to the University.

gress made in either of these foreign languages is miserably slow, owing to the excessive demands made on the students' powers by other subjects.

"The result of the present system of education in the case of a large number of students is exhausted physical powers and lack of thorough efficiency in any subject. Many students after graduation at the university find themselves quite unfit to enter upon the duties of life with that energy essential to success."⁽¹⁾

Following the Russo-Japanese War, Japan experienced a sudden expansion in all departments of her national economy. The prestige of the country was much enhanced by this successful conflict with one of the world's great powers. Commerce and industry which had developed during the conflict expanded still further in the subsequent years, and contacts with other states increased in frequency and importance. It is not surprising, therefore, that this rising tide of economic and political activity should be attended by insistent demands for changes in the educational system which would enable the Japanese people more adequately to meet their increased responsibilities. Recognizing the justice and importance of this demand, the Government, on the 21st of March, 1907, amended Article 18 of the Elementary School Act by extending the time of compulsory education from four to six years.⁽²⁾ This was one of the really important events in the modern history of Japanese Education.

The extension of the period of compulsory education made necessary certain other adjustments in the school system. The length of the courses of the higher primary school was reduced to two years with a third year optional, but special encouragement was extended to students to attend supplementary courses at technical continuation schools. At the same time the teaching standard was raised and applicants for teaching positions were required to submit to examinations in subjects from which until then

(1) Quoted in *Saionji*.—*op. cit.* 173-4.

(2) "Fifty Years of the Japanese Educational System" Prepared by the Department of Education. Tokyo 1922. Chapter 7. Section I.

they had been exempt. There was little change in the courses of study in the elementary schools, these consisting, as before, of instruction in morals, Japanese language, arithmetic, national history and geography, science, drawing, singing and gymnastics, with additional training in sewing for the girls, and in the manual arts for the boys.⁽¹⁾ In a further effort to improve the standard of teaching and to make its benefits more widely effective, the service regulations for school inspectors were revised in September, 1908, and a general tightening up of the enforcement of all school laws was instituted.

As a result of these reforms, the number of elementary school teachers increased from 122,038 in 1907 to 152,011 in 1910, and the number of elementary school students from 5,713,698 to 6,861,718. The ratio of teachers to pupils thus improved from 1 to 47 to 1 to 45. Even the latter figure was still far from satisfactory; yet it does indicate an advance.

Having instituted these reforms in the elementary school system, the government next directed its attention to the problems of the middle schools. These schools had long been criticized, as in the statement of Prince Saionji quoted above, on the grounds that they diffused their energies over too wide a field, and that there were so many subjects that they were in consequence inefficiently taught. By the revision of July, 1911, the number of subjects was reduced and an effort was made to ensure a higher standard of instruction in those that were retained. Those subjects retained were morals, Japanese language, Chinese literature and classics, English, French or German, history, geography, mathematics, natural history, chemistry, physics, economics, drawing, business methods, singing and gymnastics. Business methods covered instruction in agriculture, commerce and manual arts. Manual arts, economics and singing were optional. On the other hand lessons in fencing and judo were included as regular subjects of study for boys, their proponents emphasizing the mental as well

(1) "Fifty Years of the Japanese Educational System," Section III.

as the physical benefits to be derived from their practice.⁽¹⁾ The introduction of these physical activities was admirable because for many years the Japanese students as a class had been sacrificing their physical welfare in the determined pursuit of academic success. The tendency to despise physical prowess and unduly to exalt intellectual success had produced a bad physical effect upon the youth of Japan during the later years of the 19th Century.

The number of middle schools slowly increased (from 285 in 1907 to 309 in 1910), and provision was made for the admission of more students. The number of pupils assigned to each teacher in the middle schools was not in general so large as there had been in the elementary schools, with the result that the teaching standards were able to show progressive improvement. At least it was no longer true that good pedagogical methods were physically impossible because of overcrowded classes and overworked instructors.

Under the wise and energetic administration of Mr. Komatsubara, attention was likewise directed towards the extension of educational facilities to girls. Domestic science courses were provided either in separate schools or in the girls' high schools, (or in some cases even in the higher elementary schools). The number of high schools for girls was likewise increased (from 132 in 1907 to 192 in 1910), and a 40% increase in enrolment was made possible within these years. It is true that the educational facilities provided for girls were of a nature designed primarily, if not exclusively, to foster the domestic virtues, but inevitably some elements of a general education were also provided, and for the first time in modern history Japanese women began to be interested in the possibility of obtaining an education equivalent to that of the men.

As has been stated above, the changes in the elementary school system were accompanied by a serious effort to

(1) See "What is Judo" by Dr. Jigoro Kano, Founder and present Director of the Kodokan, or Judo Institute, Tokyo. (Published by the Board of Tourist Industry of the Japanese Government Railways, Tokyo, 1936).

improve the standard of teaching. Government support for the students in normal schools was extended in scope, special inducements in the form of loans being offered to students with exceptional attainments or of unusual promise. Most of the students were provided with the essentials of living by the government, and in return the boys were obliged to serve as teachers for seven years, and the girls for five. Even those who paid their own expenses while in training were required to promise that they would teach for a minimum of three years.

These regulations were revised in detail, but were not changed in principle in the year 1921. A comprehensive system of government loans was organized, and various other forms of encouragement to good students were widely employed. As a result, the number of prospective teachers increased, and the standard of teaching showed a gradual but definite improvement.

During these years of educational ferment and progress, higher education was not forgotten. A new higher school was opened in Nagoya in 1908, the Kyushu Imperial University was established in December, 1910, and new faculties or departments were added in the Imperial University, Tokyo, the Kyoto Imperial University and the Tohoku Imperial University. A new Higher School Act was passed in July, 1911, but as this proved too ambitious for the material and personnel equipment that was then available, it could not at once be made effective in practice. It was not until the end of 1918 that new and effective higher school regulations were actually enforced, though in the meanwhile registrations increased and the demand for more extensive facilities was becoming stronger every year. Higher technical schools for training in agriculture, fishery, sericulture, commerce and other specialized subjects were also founded between 1907 and 1911, and the opportunities for advanced training were thereby increased and diversified.

Another feature of the educational policy of Minister Komatsubara was the provision of library facilities. The

number of libraries was increased between 1907 and 1910 from 151 to 374, and the number of books thus made available was almost doubled, totalling 2,645,264 in 1910.

Although the reforms effected in 1907 and the succeeding years had produced a decided improvement in the standards and administration of the Japanese educational system, they had not by any means provided a final solution to the colossal problem of organizing in a very populous but comparatively poor country a system of national education that would provide facilities comparable to those enjoyed in wealthier states which had also the tremendous advantage provided by a gradual and unbroken period of development extending over several centuries. Japan with more limited resources was endeavouring to attain the same goal in a period of decades, and it was not surprising that in her system of short-circuiting there should result mistakes and failures. The determination and comparative success which attended the efforts made during these crowded and exciting years are worthy of the highest tribute.

As a result of growing dissatisfaction with the results of the educational system, a law was passed on the 13th of June, 1913, establishing an Educational Investigation Council consisting of twenty-five appointed members, to whom was assigned the duty of making proposals for the improvement of Japanese education and of investigating and reporting upon specific problems presented to them by the Minister of Education. Under varying titles and slightly changed articles of incorporation, this body has been in existence ever since, and although it is now rarely called into service, it has from time to time made useful proposals which have become law.

Many minor reforms resulted from the activities of the Council. Particular attention was devoted to the improvement of the inspectorate system, as it was wisely recognized that until the standards of criticism were raised the quality of teaching and administration would not be improved. On the 5th of December, 1918, the University Act and Higher School Act were passed. The former placed the private

universities on an equal footing with the Imperial universities, thereby at once increasing their prestige and giving added assurance of the maintenance of satisfactory standards. At the same time it was decided to grant to each of the seven existing private universities the annual sum of ¥250,000. The Higher School Act permitted the establishment of higher schools under government control by private individuals or by public bodies such as municipalities or prefectures. Provision was also made to exempt from payment of the land tax all property used (without the payment of rent) by private educational institutions.

From 1910 to 1920 the number of students in the Japanese elementary schools steadily increased. Whereas in 1911, when the six-year course had been in operation for over three years, there were almost exactly 7,000,000 elementary school students taught by 157,500 teachers. By 1919 this number had increased to 8,362,000 students with 178,450 teachers. During these years many of the school districts, particularly in the less prosperous sections of the country, were finding it increasingly difficult to provide for the proper payment of teachers' salaries, though these were, as judged by foreign standards, extremely low. During the Great War years (1914-1918), in spite of heavy state expenditure on military, naval and diplomatic activities, Japan as a whole enjoyed a period of exceptional prosperity. The activities of the great exporting nations of Europe and America were so largely concentrated upon their war efforts that Japanese merchants found it very much less difficult than before to increase their share in the markets of Asia and the Pacific area. During these boom years almost every branch of Japanese industry was reaping an unprecedented profit, and even the agricultural classes, although less favoured than their manufacturing and commercial compatriots, enjoyed on the whole a comparatively prosperous period. But in spite of these favourable conditions the margin of profit in some of the less favoured districts of Japan was always so small that the amount of money available for edu-

tional needs was far from sufficient to provide the facilities desired. As a result, the Japanese Government decided in 1918 to make an additional grant of ten million Yen a year to be used for the payment of salaries to elementary school teachers. This amount was increased to forty million Yen in 1923, and since that year by further increments to its present yearly sum of ¥85,000,000.

Between 1911 and 1919 the number of middle school students gradually increased from 125,000 to 170,000, but no important changes took place either in the curriculum or the administration, nor was the number of schools greatly increased, and the nine years showed an increase of only thirty. A very much more satisfactory record was registered in connection with the girls' high schools. Here the number of schools increased from 199 in 1911 to 458 in 1919, and the number of students from 60,000 to 128,000. It will therefore be seen that an effort was being made to bring the girls in their first ten years into a position more comparable to that enjoyed by the boys of the same age. It is, of course, true, as it has been pointed out above, that the instruction given in the girls' schools was not on the average as satisfactory as that provided for the boys, but in 1920 an effort was made to overcome this unsatisfactory condition by providing a post-graduate or supplementary course for girls who had completed the course provided in their high schools. The supplementary course of two years, or in some cases three years, gave to some few girls a hitherto impossible opportunity to pursue their education beyond the very modest fields opened to their inquiring minds by their high school curriculum.

The increased facilities made available in the elementary and middle schools naturally resulted in greater pressure on the higher institutions. The number of students who wished to proceed through the middle schools to the high schools and universities was constantly increasing, and the financial prosperity that Japan enjoyed during the World War further accentuated the inadequacy of the existing provisions for a higher education. Entrance to the higher schools and uni-

versities was to be obtained only by examination, and frequently the number of candidates was ten times as large as the number of students the schools could accept. As admission was by examination, the struggle among the students became keener every year. It is not difficult to imagine in such circumstances that both mental and physical injury frequently resulted from the excessive strain the candidates had to undergo when seeking admission to the higher schools. This becomes particularly evident when it is realized that careers in the civil service, diplomacy and the larger business institutions were only open to those with highly successful school records. The one admirable feature of the situation, apart from the ambitious determination of the students themselves, was the fact that neither financial backing nor social position was able to gain admission to the higher schools or universities for a candidate who was unsuccessful in the examinations. On the other hand, however, it should also be recognized, of course, that many brilliant students were precluded from advanced study because of the inability of their parents to provide the necessary fees. These hardships were in some cases overcome by the benevolence of men of wealth from the same clan or family, but this paternal help was only granted in a small percentage of cases.

The congestion among applicants for admission to the higher schools and universities became so unsatisfactory that several successive Ministers of Education worked seriously over plans of reform. The situation became so acute that on the 25th of December, 1918, the Imperial Family graciously made the munificent grant of ¥10,000,000 to help in the expansion of the existing institutions of higher education. This was the first time in Japanese history that so large a grant had been made from the Privy Purse for education, and it aroused the enthusiasm of the nation and determined the government to carry out the necessary reforms.

In his address to the Forty-first Session of the Imperial Diet, Education Minister Nakahashi estimated that the number of graduates from middle schools would be by 1925

over 20,500 annually. Of these, approximately 20,000 could be expected to apply as candidates for admission to schools of higher grade, and it was on the basis of this figure that Minister Nakahashi presented his plans for expansion. These plans included the construction of ten higher schools, six higher technical schools, four higher schools of agriculture, seven higher commercial schools, one foreign language school and one higher school of pharmacy. All these were to be completed by the end of the year 1924, and as an initial contribution towards this end a supplementary budget for the Department of Education of ¥44,500,000 was passed. Although this plan was in a large measure carried out during the period assigned, it did not by any means solve the problem of providing higher educational facilities for all the Japanese students who desired to take advantage of them. The number of graduates from the middle schools increased much more rapidly than had been anticipated during the years under review, and down to the present time there has never been an occasion upon which the facilities have been adequate to the demand made upon them.

Although the policies outlined above relieved to some extent the pressure upon the higher schools, the problem of admission to the universities still remained. The University Act of 1918 widened and strengthened the basis of advanced education in Japan, but it did little to provide for the increased numbers of applicants that were annually besieging the college doors. As this Act of 1918 is still the basis of the university system of Japan, its terms are worthy of examination. It provided in the first place for government recognition of private and public universities in addition to those established by the government itself. It further recognized and established the position of certain universities which consisted of a single faculty. It re-emphasized the duty of universities to develop character and to foster the culture of the national spirit in addition to the imparting of knowledge. It permitted the granting of the Bachelor's Degree to those who had studied under the

supervision of the university faculty for a period of three years or more, and who had passed the required examinations, even though the students had not attended lectures during the regular academic year. Finally, post-graduate courses were insisted upon in every university.

Although the provisions of this act brought the universities into a well-organized and standardized system, it did little to provide increased facilities for the many students who were clamouring for admission, and for whom no room could be found. Nor has the problem been solved since that time. As will be shown in a later chapter, the applications for admission to the universities far exceed their capacity. It may also be noted here, however, that the problem of the surplus university graduates is a very definite cause of anxiety in Japan as in many other countries. If the universities cannot accept all the students who apply for admission, neither can society, as at present organized, make suitable use of those who are accorded the benefits of university education.

The year 1922 marked the Golden Jubilee of the promulgation of the Educational Code in 1872. Recognizing, therefore, the importance that the Japanese people and authorities have always attached to educational matters, it was fitting that a Golden Jubilee celebration should be held.

The celebration culminated in a ceremony held in the grounds of the Tokyo Imperial University on the 10th of October. This ceremony was honoured by the presence of H.I.H. the Prince Regent and other members of the Imperial Family. In addition to the representatives of the foreign states, the invited guests included distinguished Japanese officials, as well as those who had rendered meritorious services in the cause of Japanese education. The importance of the occasion was further marked by an Imperial Message, delivered to the guests by H.I.H. the Prince Regent, which may be translated as follows:—

“ Half a century has just elapsed since the promulgation in this country of the Educational Code. It gives Us great joy and satisfaction to see the wide diffusion of education and the

wonderful progress made by learning and art during the period—a result which is due to the enlightened plan and aspirations of Our Imperial Father and to the united efforts of government and people.

“Now, upon education, which should aim at the cultivation of mind and body with an eye to harmonious development of intellect and morality, depends mainly the enhancement of the glory of the nation, the elevation of society, and also the promotion of government, of economy, of national defence, and of various industries. In view of this, did Our Imperial Father establish the present educational system in Japan and encourage learning among the people in general.

“We take the opportunity to give utterance to Our appreciation of the strenuous exertions made, first and last, by those who have, directly or indirectly, been engaged in the performance of the important function of the State, and further, to Our desire that, bearing Our wishes firmly in mind, they should faithfully observe Our Imperial Father’s will and instructions, read this sign of times both at home and abroad, and attain enlightenment and perfection, endeavouring more and more for the furtherance of education and learning, so as to advance civilization and culture for the good of mankind.”

The Great Earthquake and Fire of 1923, which destroyed practically the whole of Yokohama and a large part of Tokyo, affected the Japanese educational system in a number of ways. The buildings of the Department of Education, together with their documents and records, were almost completely destroyed, and nine private special schools and technical schools were also burned; forty-three middle schools, girls’ high schools and industrial schools were burned and fifteen collapsed, while 463 elementary schools were similarly destroyed. In addition, a great number of educational institutions such as the Tokyo Museum, the Central Meteorological Observatory, the Tokyo Higher Normal School, the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, and many other schools were destroyed, and over half the buildings of the Tokyo Imperial University were razed.

The National Government met this calamity with that courage and resolution which have always marked the attitude of the Japanese people towards the disasters to which

from time to time Nature has subjected them. The Department of Education immediately established temporary quarters in the Tokyo Higher Normal School, and an emergency ordinance was issued, relaxing the strict regulations under which the schools in the affected area had previously been administered, and advising the local authorities to use their best efforts to re-establish classes as quickly as possible. Districts to which refugees had fled were instructed to make special provisions for the teaching of the children from the devastated regions, and steps were quickly taken to make available government loans for the reconstruction of schools. In Tokyo and Yokohama themselves, as soon as order was restored, work was resumed in tents or barracks temporarily erected for that purpose, and at the same time plans were drawn up for the reconstruction of the destroyed schools in larger units and of quake-proof and fire-proof design. The result has been that Tokyo and Yokohama are today, with few exceptions, admirably equipped with large modern school buildings, which, for the most part, would be a credit to the cities of any country. The achievements of the Japanese educational authorities in overcoming the difficulties caused by the disaster of the 1st of September, 1923, form one of the most admirable pages in the records of Japanese education. Something of the spirit in which the problems were faced can be obtained from an examination of the Imperial Rescript which was issued at the time :—

“ We deem that the prosperity of a State is founded on the sturdy spirit of its nationals, and hence they must foster that spirit so that the national foundation may be strengthened. It was in view of this that the late Emperor was specially solicitous for the promotion of education. He promulgated an Edict on Education, and in accordance with the fundamental policy of the nation, He endeavoured to inculcate the hereditary teachings of his Imperial Ancestors and forefathers upon the minds of His subjects. Later, He issued another Edict, to remind them of the importance of sincerity and thrift and diligence. The Imperial messages were intended to elevate national morals and spirit. The messages served as a pointer for guiding the direc-

tion and aim of national efforts, and have brought about the prosperity and expansion of the Empire.

"We, since Our Enthronement, have kept in mind the late Emperor's instructions and have been doing Our best for the elevation of the Japanese Empire. Before this grand aim could be consummated, Japan unexpectedly met with the unheard of disaster and We are distracted by profound sentiments of awe and tribulation.

"In recent years, much progress has been made in science and human wisdom. At the same time frivolous and extravagant habits have set in, and even rash and extreme tendencies are not unknown. If these habits and tendencies are not checked now, the future of the country, We fear, will be dark, the disaster which befell the Japanese nation being very severe. It may not be possible to hope for the restoration of national culture and prosperity unless the determined will of the whole nation is aroused. This is the time when the people must be one in their courageous endeavour for the prosperity and expansion of the country. For consummating this noble aim the nation can have no alternative but to follow the instructions of the late Emperor. Our subjects must faithfully observe the honourable tradition of national education, and must endeavour to elevate the twin cardinal virtues of knowledge and morals. They must discard frivolous habits and lead a sincere and noble life, avoiding rashness and extremities. Let them be gentle and just, be good to their parents, relatives and neighbours, be friendly and harmonious to all, and let them observe public morality and public order, respect all responsibilities and temperance, be loyal to the Sovereign and pious to parents. They must be filled with righteous courage, pay tribute to universal love, and mutual aid, and be respectful, industrious and intelligent so that they may thrive in the occupations and promote public good. Thus can they hope for the prosperity of the Japanese race and the welfare of the Japanese people. We, with the support of Our faithful subjects, desire that the foundation of the Empire be strengthened and its great aspiration realized."

In 1925 the Imperial Government reached a decision which at the time caused some dissension, but which has since been accepted as a natural and integral part of the educational programme. In that year the Department of Education issued an Ordinance providing for the appoint-

ment of military officers on active duty to give military instruction in all public normal schools, middle schools, technical schools, special schools and higher schools. Military training of a sort had been given in Japanese schools ever since the revision of the Educational Code in 1886, but after the first few years it had been pursued in a somewhat inefficient and haphazard manner so that most of the early enthusiasm had been lost. Now, however, it was decided to revitalize this training and to increase its value as an element in the preparation of the nation for whatever troubles the future might hold. This could best be done, according to those who were most enthusiastic in their arguments for the inculcation of the martial spirit, by the handing over of the military training in the schools to officers on the active list who could be relied upon to administer their duties with the proper zeal. Although a few voices were raised in protest, military training has never been alien to the Japanese tradition, so that dissentients were powerless and their arguments accorded scant consideration. In issuing his instructions for the new system the Minister of Education voiced the popular view when he wrote :

“ It is of the utmost importance, in view of the present state of affairs both at home and abroad, to develop and improve the spiritual and physical training of our nation and thereby to increase national strength and to enhance national prosperity. In carrying out this plan, we must mainly depend upon educational influence.

“ When we observe the trend of the world since the Great War, the national drill or military preparatory education has made a remarkable development in European and American countries, a strong and healthy military spirit thereby being inspired and public thought guided in the right way. Thus an attempt was made at the popularization of the thought of national defence among the nation.

“ Under such circumstances at home and abroad, the authorities concerned decided to improve the drill in school to a great measure, and it was found that the most effective means for the purpose was in the appointment of military officers on active service for the training in schools. After further in-

vestigation into the practical method of the plan, it was formally put into practice.

"The aim of giving drill in schools is to improve the character of students and pupils by physical and mental training. In other words, it is to clarify the national spirit, to inspire the spirit of self-sacrifice and public service, to cultivate the custom of independence, to fulfil one's responsibility, to observe the regulations and orders, to abide by temperance and moderation, to respect harmony, and to arouse the spirit of obedience to orders and commands, to strengthen one's physique, to encourage the martial spirit, and further to cultivate an indomitable spirit. It is beyond question that the strength of national defence will be increased by the encouragement of drill in schools."

During the decade following the Great Earthquake of 1923 no major changes were introduced in the educational system of Japan. Gradual progress was made in extending and improving the facilities available for the training of the youth of the country and the results achieved have been, numerically at least, quite impressive. In the succeeding chapters an effort will be made to picture the system as it operates today and to indicate in some measure the probabilities of the future. In looking back over the period since the Restoration it is difficult to avoid the use of superlatives in describing the magnitude of the task that was undertaken and the extraordinary success with which it has been carried out. Whether the time has not now come when qualitative reforms are not rapidly becoming imperative, the subsequent pages may offer some indication.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

I. DIAGRAMMATIC ILLUSTRATIONS.

Before attempting to understand the contemporary educational machinery of Japan, the reader should examine with some care the diagrams on pages 125 and 135 as they are calculated to be of much help in explaining the formal organization that has resulted from the educational policy of the Japanese government.

II. THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY—THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The Minister of Education in the Imperial Japanese Government is given powers and responsibilities that make him one of the most important functionaries in the country. In addition to being responsible for the organization and control of the educational system, he is in charge of all matters relating to art, science, literature and religion. His Department (known in Japanese as the *Monbusho*) is the central organ through which the rulers of Japan exercise effective control over what their people shall study, read, see and believe. The ramifications of the Department extend to the smallest villages of Japan, and the direction of the interests of successive generations is largely controlled by the policies of the Department. These policies are, for the most part, made effective by means of Imperial Ordinances rather than by laws. The only educational institutions which do not come under the supervision of the Minister of Education are the schools in the colonies (which are

administered by the Colonial Governments), the schools belonging to the War and Navy Departments, and a few other institutions under the jurisdiction of other government offices.

A Department so vital in its influence upon the life of the nation is worthy of detailed examination. On the next page will be found a chart which illustrates the internal organization and the division of powers and responsibilities.⁽¹⁾

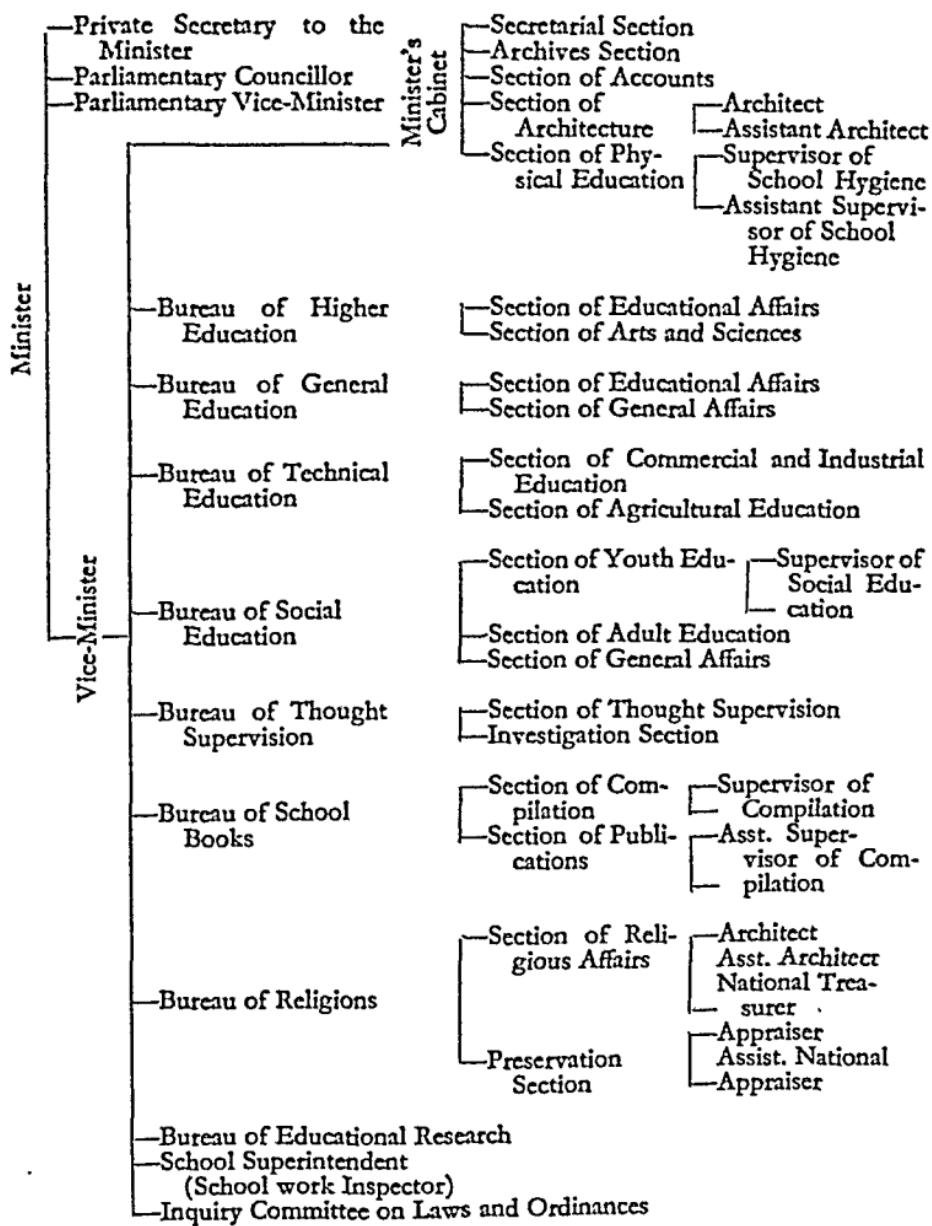
The Minister of the Department is appointed by H. M. the Emperor on the advice of the head of the government, and in consequence the office changes hands with the change of the party in power. The same holds true of the Private Secretary, the Parliamentary Counsellor and the Parliamentary Vice-Minister. The permanent head of the Monbusho is the Vice-Minister. The authority of this Minister is derived through the government and the Diet from the eventual source of all authority in Japan, H. M. the Emperor Himself.

The Department of Education was established, as has been described in a preceding chapter, in the year 1871. Since that time its activities have expanded and its personnel increased, though its status and duties have but slightly changed. Most of the posts within the Department are occupied by members of the civil service who retain office unaffected by changes in the political control of the government, although this rule is not as universally true as opponents of the "spoils system" would desire to see it. Appointment to the Department in whatever capacity is by competitive examination.

Perhaps the most important unit among the many branches of the Department is the Minister's Secretariat or Cabinet. This controls all matters not specifically delegated to one of the Bureaus, and in particular has under its supervision all matters relating to finance; to the design,

(1) For much of the information contained in this Chapter the authors are indebted to Messrs Hattori and Oki of the Department of Education.

Chart Showing the Organization of the Department of
Education of Japan



2. Tests and Certificates
3. Educational Institutes
4. Enrolment and School Attendance.

THE BUREAU OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION is similarly divided into two Sections, the Section of Commercial and Industrial Education and the Section of Agricultural Education. To these are delegated duties relating to the following subjects :—

Section of Commercial and Industrial Education :—

1. Technical Schools
2. Commercial Schools
3. Nautical Schools
4. Vocational Schools
5. The Training of Technical School Teachers.

Section of Agricultural Education :—

1. Special and Ordinary Agricultural Schools
2. Fishery Schools
3. Grants from National Treasury for Technical Education.

THE BUREAU OF SOCIAL EDUCATION has three Sections ; the Section of Youth Education, of Adult Education and of General Affairs. To these Sections are delegated the following subjects :—

Section of Youth Education :

1. Young Men's Societies and Boy Scouts
2. Young Men's Training Institutes. (These institutes do very much the same kind of work as the continuation technical schools, and a proposal for their amalgamation in a single service has recently been approved.)
3. Continuation Technical Schools
4. Conscript Education.

Section of Adult Education :

1. Libraries. (This includes the organization of short courses for the training of librarians and the extension of aid in the establishment of local libraries.)
2. Museums and Exhibitions
3. Social Educational Institutes
4. Approval and recommendation of books. (This work

is undertaken with the object of directing and improving the public taste in literature and of inculcating moral precepts.)

The Section of General Affairs :

1. Cinema. (This includes the production and distribution of educational films, and the endorsement and recommendation of certain films shown, by commercial companies.)
2. Popular Amusements.

THE BUREAU OF THOUGHT SUPERVISION (previously known as the Bureau of Student Control) is the most recent addition to the Department of Education. Its two sections have been assigned the following duties :

Section of Thought Supervision :

1. Guidance and Control of Student Thought. (This section is established primarily for the purpose of "influencing those who, under the influence of Marxism and Leninism, tend towards improper conduct."⁽¹⁾)
2. Government Research Institute of National Culture. (This Institute was designed to bring together outstanding scholars and teachers "to contribute towards the study of the idea of the national character and spirit peculiar to Japan."⁽²⁾ It also attempts to reclaim students who have been expelled from school for participation in radical activities.)

Section of Investigation :

1. Investigation of thought problems
2. Examination of books for guidance of thought.

THE BUREAU OF SCHOOL BOOKS is composed of the Section of Compilation and the Section of Publication. All the elementary school texts are compiled by and produced under the supervision of this Bureau. All text-books for higher schools must receive its approval.

The Bureau of Religion is also composed of two divisions with their sections divided as follows :

(1) *General Survey.* p. 49.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 50.

The Religious Section :

1. Religious sects and denominations
2. Churches, Temples, Shrines
3. Priests and Missionaries.

The Preservation Section :

1. Historic Spots and Scenic Beauties
2. National Monuments
3. National Treasures
4. Works of Art and other Valuables.

THE BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH. This Bureau carries on constant research into foreign educational technique and principles, as well as attempting to gain a clearer knowledge of the historic background of the national ideals.

SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS. There are seventeen Superintendents or Inspectors who are constantly employed by the Department to investigate personally the work of the schools. They report direct to the Vice-Minister. *Further reference to their work will be found in Section 4 of this chapter.*

INQUIRY COMMITTEE ON LAWS AND ORDINANCES. This Committee is expected to supervise the drafting of ordinances and to recommend necessary changes in the existing laws for the benefit of the Department and its work.

In addition to controlling the ordinary channels of school education, the Japanese Minister of Education is given administrative control over all extra-scholastic activities in such collateral or related fields as Art, Science, Literature and Religion. Museums and art galleries, research and experimental organizations or societies, literary activities in a great variety of forms, and all religious bodies are also subject to the supervision of this official. But the control of the radio comes under the Ministry of Communications, and there is much room for collaboration here.

Japanese schools are officially declared to be non-religious. All teachers are therefore forbidden to use their classrooms for the propagation of any religious creed. Teachers and scholars alike, however, are expected to conform to all the official Shinto rites and observances, and this fact has given rise to what has become known as the "Shrine

Controversy."

The position is briefly as follows: The government has officially declared that Shintoism (the worship of ancestral spirits, and in particular of the Imperial Family), is not a religion, but a form of state observance and a duty of filial piety. This is accepted by the Buddhist authorities, and in consequence there is no contradiction involved in a Japanese being both a Buddhist and a Shintoist. The Christian Church, however, has been less acquiescent. In the Christian view, Shinto is a religion, and it is impossible for a person to worship the gods of the Shinto pantheon and the Christian Trinity at the same time. As a result, Christian students have been forbidden by some of the mission bodies to participate in Shinto ceremonies. This attitude is strongly denounced by the Japanese Government as disloyal, not only to the ancestral spirits but the Throne itself. In some schools a compromise has been evolved by the Christian students, but in others the conflict still continues with no evidence of an early solution. There can be no doubt that Shinto rites are, by any reasonable interpretation of the word, religious observances, and it is equally clear that some of the concepts behind these observances are incompatible with the Christian doctrine. Undoubtedly the Japanese genius for compromise will eventually evolve a solution of this problem, but it is difficult to see how this can be done without one side or the other making concessions that will alter what are at present fundamental articles of faith.

This question was brought to a head a few years ago in the Roman Catholic schools in Tokyo. Army officers withdrew from the schools because the Catholic authorities and students were reluctant to pay homage at the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, where the spirits of those who have given their lives for Japan are enshrined. When, however, the Vice-Minister of Education officially declared that the Shinto ceremony was *not* a religious observance, the Roman Catholic schools had no further objection to their faithful paying homage at the shrine, and this is the position in 1937.

On the controversy between the Department of Education and the mission schools in Japan, the internationally-known Japanese leading Christian and social worker, Rev. Toyohiko Kagawa, who is highly respected by missionaries of all branches of the Christian Church in Japan, wrote the following passages, which have done a lot to clear the atmosphere and help foreign missions to come to a wise decision.

"It is a dismaying fact, but mission schools in Japan adopt the same standardized system. The desire to secure government recognition and the urge to build up a large student body may seem to justify this course. Yet, because of the large number of students, moral and religious education has suffered. I know of one mission school where some of the students went through the entire five-year course without once attending a religious service. What justification can there be for the existence of such a mission school?"⁽¹⁾

"The Department of Education attempts to differentiate between state Shinto and religious Shinto. This may be wise, but its success is doubtful. According to the Department's interpretation the state Shinto shrines are like national monuments which commemorate heroes who have rendered meritorious service in the building of the Empire. Therefore, the Department insists that these shrines are not of a religious character. Nevertheless, through the existence of these monument shrines the forms of ancient Asiatic Shamanism are preserved. Yet it is true that the shrines of state Shinto are the monuments and tombs of men who have rendered conspicuous service to the state. In this respect they differ not at all from the Lincoln Memorial in Washington and the Cenotaph in London. Therefore, when visiting them I remove my hat and bow in reverence, just as I do when I visit my parents' graves.

"Unfortunately, the Roman Catholic Church has clashed with the Education and Army Departments over this question. Moreover, in the spring of 1933, a missionary in Gifu province came into conflict with the prefectoral authorities over this issue, with the result that the right of propagating the Christian faith was withdrawn.

(1) *Kagawa*—p. 53-4.

"The clash between the Department of Education and the Roman Catholic Church arose over the question of her students paying homage at the Yasukuni Shrine—a pantheon dedicated to the spirits of soldiers who have died for their country. This shrine was built to the memory of those who, since the Meiji Restoration, have died on the field of battle. Unfortunately, the religious forms connected with this cenotaph are based on the ancient Asiatic Shamanism. The Jochi University, a Roman Catholic institution, therefore forbade its students to pay visits to this shrine at the time of the Spring festival. The Department of Education, taking the attitude that this was not a religious function, urged their attendance. The church authorities, however, refused to yield.

"The case in the Gifu prefecture arose over the question of paying homage at the Great Shrine of Ise. The Imperial Family considers this shrine a sacred place of prime importance. Here the spirit of Ama-Terasu-O-Mikami was a ruler as well as a religious figure of the Shamanistic type, and therefore represents both political and religious authority. My conjecture is that what today is worshipped at the outer shrine at Ise is the object of worship to which Ama-Terasu-O-Mikami herself made obeisance. But today it is the figure of Ama-Terasu-O-Mikami herself, rather than the religion she espoused, which is central at Ise and makes this the Jerusalem of state Shinto. Yet the sagacious educational authorities insist that the great shrine at Ise has no religious significance.

"Let me define my own position. Whenever I visit the Great Shrine of Ise, I do not worship Ama-Terasu-O-Mikami as a goddess. I do, however, remove my hat and bow reverently. The guard on duty finds no fault with this. The educational authorities ask nothing more. Some missionaries, however, look upon this as idol worship, and so clashes occur. These missionaries may find satisfaction in ignoring Japan's whole past history and in destroying the memorials of the nation's builders.

"Personally, I find myself in agreement with the attitude of the educational authorities, that the shrines of state Shinto should be treated as monuments to the builders of the nation and not be looked upon as religious institutions. There is no need of showing respect for shrines of doubtful and unworthy origin. But our hats should come off in respect for the nation's builders."⁽¹⁾

(1) *Kagaku*.—pp. 85-9.

SYSTEM OF CONTROL OF SCHOOLS UNDER THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The Japanese schools under the control of the Department of Education may be classified into three groups in respect of their establishment, viz. :—

1. Government schools :
2. Public schools :—
 - a. Those established by Prefectures ;
 - b. Those established by Cities ;
 - c. Those established by Wards, Towns or Villages ;
3. Private schools.

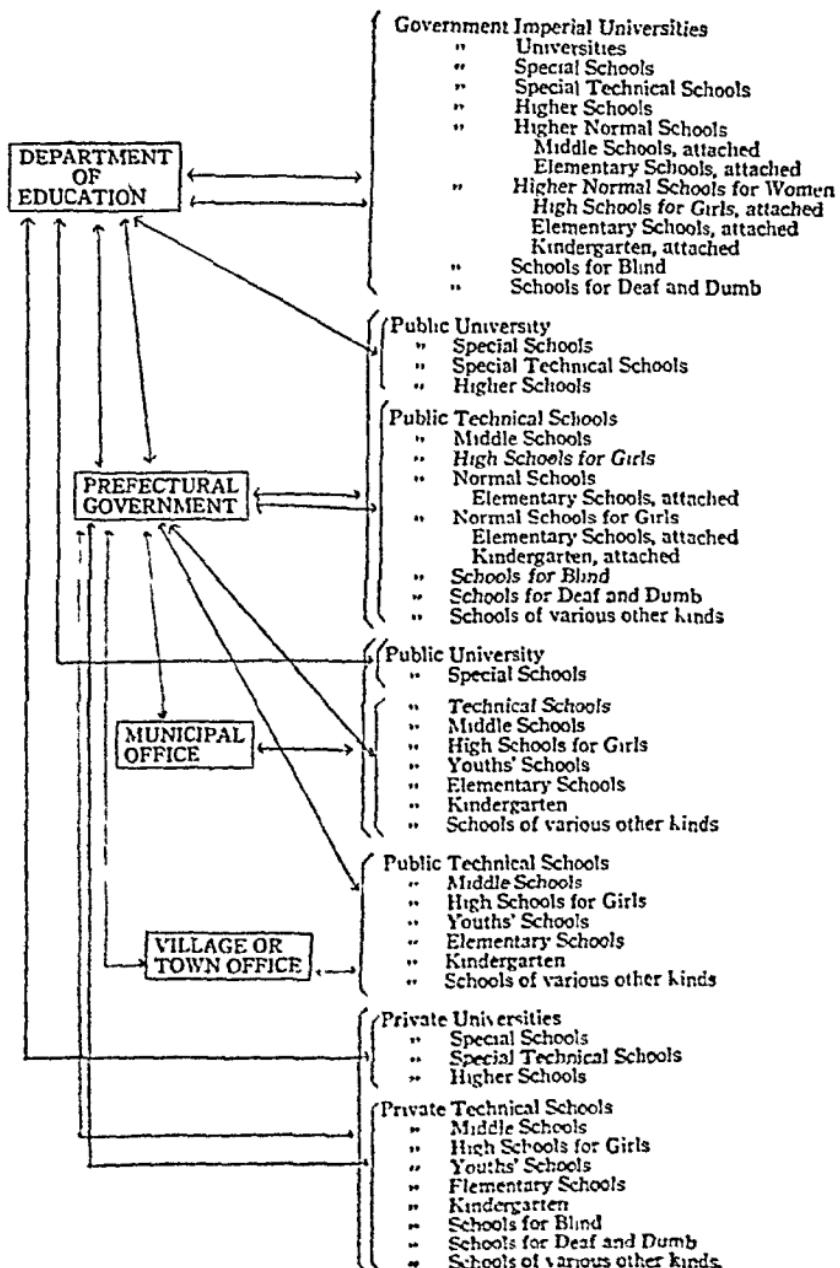
The government schools are under the direct control of the Department of Education both in educational affairs and management, and the public schools and private schools are partly under the control of the Department of Education and partly under the local prefectoral government concerned.

The Department of Education exercises direct control not only over the government schools but over all schools of higher education, such as universities, special schools, special technical schools and higher schools, of both public and private establishment in educational matters. The local prefectoral governments are directly responsible for the educational affairs of secondary schools and elementary schools of both public and private establishment.

The public schools being established by public communities, such as prefectures, cities, wards, towns or villages, the management is naturally under the charge of the parties concerned in their establishment. Hence such matters are taken up with or through the prefectoral government, municipal office, ward office, town or village office. Similarly, matters concerning the management of private schools are sometimes taken up through the prefectoral government, municipal office, ward office, town or village office.

The following table shows the system of control of schools under the Department of Education :—

SYSTEM OF CONTROL OF SCHOOLS UNDER THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION



Note: Black lines show the system of control over educational affairs, and the red lines - show the control over establishment or management of schools.

SECTIONAL REGULATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Issued June 18, 1915, and revised from time to time up to June 2, 1934.

Art. 1 In the Minister's Secretariat there shall be a Secretariat Section, an Archives Section, an Accountancy Section, a Section for Architecture and a Section for Physical Training, and the Secretariat shall have direction of the affairs assigned to each Section.

The Secretariat Section shall be in charge of the following matters :—

1. Promotion, degrading and ranks of officials ;
2. Pensions and retiring allowances of the officials ;
3. Promotion, degrading and ranks of the staff members of public schools ;
4. Foreign employees ;
5. Custody of the seals of Minister and Vice-Minister, and the seals of the Department of Education ;
6. Prizes ;
7. Their Imperial Majesties' portrait and copies of the Imperial Rescripts ;
8. Ceremonies at national festivals ;
9. Regulations of the Department of Education and functionaries under its control.

The Archives Section shall be in charge of the following matters :—

1. Receipt and despatch of official documents and drafts ;
2. Compilation and preservation of official documents ;
3. Compilation of statistical reports and their publication in the Official Gazette ;
4. Compilation and distribution of Reports and Annual Returns ;
5. Translation of documents ;
6. Discount in travelling fares for school teachers, students and pupils ;
7. Matters not coming under the control of other Bureaux or Sections.

The Accountancy Section shall have charge of the following matters :—

1. Budget, closing accounts, and accounting of the expenditure and income coming under the control of the Department of Education ;
2. Government property and articles under the control of the Department of Education ;
3. Inspection of accounts ;
4. Law-suits concerned with the affairs under the control of the Department of Education.

The Architecture Section shall have charge of the following matters :—

1. Construction and repairs of schools, libraries and museums under the control of the Department of Education ;
2. Construction and repairs of buildings for the use of the Department of Education ;
3. Investigation of the plans and drawings for public or private schools, libraries and museums.

The Section for Physical Training shall have charge of the following matters :—

1. Hygiene of school grounds, buildings, implements and other establishments of government, public and private schools ;
2. Education in hygiene ;
3. Physical training and sports ;
4. Physical training research institutes ;
5. Physical examination, and physical power test in schools and kindergarten ;
6. Precautionary measures against disease, medical treatment and diet ;
7. Direction and protection of students and children of physically feeble or weak-minded children ;
8. Corporations ;
9. Physical training statistics ;
10. Other matters concerning physical training.

Art. 2 In the Bureau of Higher Education Affairs, there shall be the Section of School Affairs, and the Section of Art and Science, and they shall have direction of the affairs assigned to them.

The Section of School Affairs shall take charge of the following matters :—

1. Universities ;

2. Higher Schools ;
3. Special Schools and various other schools similar in grade to the above-mentioned 1 and 2 ;
4. Astronomical Observatory, Institute for the Study of Infectious Diseases, Institute for Aeronautics, Research Institute for Metals, Earthquake Research Institute, Institute for Chemical Research, and Hot-spring Cure Laboratory ;
5. Students abroad ;
6. Test and certificate for higher school teachers ;
7. Educational undertakings ;
8. Chinese students ;
9. Corporations, i.e. school corporations only ;
10. Grants from the National Treasury to the staff members of public schools for long service allowance.

The Section of Art and Science shall have direction of the following matters :—

1. The Imperial Academy ;
2. The Imperial Academy of Fine Arts ;
3. Scientific research conferences, and other scientific meetings ;
4. The encouragement of scientific research ;
5. Degrees, titles and designations ;
6. Meteorological observations, meteorological stations, and observatories for the measurement of latitude ;
7. The Council of Aeronautics, Geodetic Committee, Committee for the Compilation of Catalogues of Scientific Literatures, and Council of Precautionary Measures Against Earthquakes and Fire ;
8. Corporations (excluding school corporations) ;
9. Matters not coming under the competency of any other Section.

Art. 3 In the Bureau of General Education Affairs there shall be a Section of School Affairs and a Section of General Affairs, and they shall deal with the business assigned to each Section.

The Section of School Affairs shall be charged with the following matters concerning :—

1. Primary schools and the enrolment of children of school age ;

2. Normal schools, higher normal schools, women's higher normal schools and special institutes for training teachers ;
3. Middle schools ;
4. Girls' high schools ;
5. Schools for the blind ; schools for the deaf and dumb, and other schools for special education.
6. Kindergarten ;
7. Other schools similar in grade to the above-mentioned ;
8. Sanctioned schools abroad ;
9. Tests and certificates for teachers in normal schools, middle schools and girls' high schools ;
10. Military training at schools and military officers to be appointed to conduct military training in schools ;
11. Educational institutes.

The Section of General Affairs shall deal with the following matters concerning :—

1. Grants from the National Treasury to cities, towns and villages in connection with compulsory education ;
2. Subsidies from the National Treasury to city, town and village elementary schools for educational expenditure, and subsidies from the National Treasury to the staff members of public schools for long service allowance ;
3. Subsidies for normal school education ;
4. Subsidies for school education for the blind, deaf and dumb ;
5. Tests of qualifications demanded of candidates to be admitted to special schools ;
6. State examination in pursuance of Art. 7 of the ordinance for higher civil service examination ;
7. Corporations ;
8. Appeals ;
9. Those matters not coming under the competency of any other Section.

Art. 4 In the Bureau of Business Education Affairs, there shall be a Section of Commercial and Industrial Education, and a Section of Agricultural Education, and they shall deal with the affairs assigned to each Section.

The Section of Commercial and Industrial Education shall take charge of the following affairs :—

1. Special technical schools ;
2. Special commercial schools ;
3. Special nautical schools ;
4. Technical schools ;
5. Commercial schools ;
6. Nautical schools ;
7. Vocational schools ;
8. Various other schools similar in grade to the above-mentioned ;
9. The training and capacity of teachers for technical schools, commercial schools, nautical schools and vocational schools.

The Section of Agricultural Education shall deal with the following matters concerning :—

1. Special schools of agriculture ;
2. Special schools of fishery ;
3. Schools of agriculture ;
4. Schools of fishery ;
5. Other schools similar in grade to the above-mentioned schools ;
6. The training and capacity of teachers for schools of agriculture, schools of fishery, business and technical continuation schools ;
7. Subsidies from the National Treasury for business and technical education expenditure ;
8. Subsidies from the National Treasury to staff members of public schools as long service allowances ;
9. Tests and certificates of scholastic attainments considered as equivalent to those of business-school graduates ;
10. Test and certificates of teachers for business and technical schools ;
11. Corporations ;
12. Those questions not coming under the competency of any other Section.

Art. 5 In the Bureau of Social Education there shall be a Section of Young Men's Education, a Section of Adult Education and a Section of General Affairs, and they

shall take charge of the affairs assigned to each Section.

The Section of Young Men's Education shall deal with those matters concerning :—

1. Young men's societies and boy scouts ;
2. Youths' schools ;
3. Business and technical continuation schools ;
4. Subsidies from the National Treasury for young men's training expenditure ;
5. Subsidies from the National Treasury for business and technical continuation education expenditure ;
6. Investigation of conscripts' education ;
7. Education of young men and children.

The Section of Adult Education shall deal with the questions relating to :—

1. Adult education ;
2. Libraries ;
3. Museums and other institutes for exhibitions ;
4. Social educational institutes.

The Section of General Affairs shall be responsible for the following matters :—

1. The cinema ;
2. Popular amusements ;
3. Approval and recommendation of books ;
4. The improving of mode of life ;
5. Corporations ;
6. Those matters not coming under the competency of any other Section.

Art. 6 The Bureau of Thought Problems shall be divided into the Section of Thought Problems and Section of Investigations, and shall deal with the affairs assigned to each Section.

The Section of Thought Problems shall be in charge of those matters concerning :—

1. The guidance and control of thought problems in schools and social educational institutes ;
2. The control of thought problems in other directions ;
3. The Research Institutes for National Spiritual Cultures ;

4. The institutes for local spiritual cultures ;
5. Those matters not coming under the competency of any other Section.

The Section of Investigations shall be in charge of the following matters :—

1. Investigation of thought problems in schools and social educational institutes ;
2. Investigation of thought problems in other directions ;
3. Investigation of thought problems at home and abroad ;
4. Investigation in books for the guidance of thought problems and their publication.

Art. 7 In the Bureau of Books, there shall be the Section of Compilation and Revision and the Section of Publications, and it shall deal with the affairs assigned to each Section.

The Section of Compilation and Revision shall be responsible for those affairs concerning :—

1. The compilation of national standard textbooks ;
2. The compilation of textbooks for various schools ;
3. Research council for textbooks ;
4. The investigation of the national language.

The Section of Publication shall deal with the affairs concerning :—

1. The publication of national standard textbooks ;
2. The publication of textbooks for various schools ;
3. The investigation, examination and approval of textbooks ;
4. Those questions not coming under the competency of any other Section.

Art. 8 In the Bureau of Religion there shall be the Section of Religion and the Section of Preservation, and it shall take charge of the affairs assigned to each Section.

The Section of Religion shall be charged with those affairs concerning :—

1. Religious sects, denominations, churches, priests, missionaries and other matters concerning religion ;

2. Temples and cathedrals ;
3. Corporations.

The Section of Preservation shall deal with those affairs concerning :—

1. The preservation of national treasures ;
2. The preservation of historic spots, scenic beauties and natural monuments ;
3. The preservation of valuable art treasures ;
4. Those questions not coming under the competency of any other Section.

Note. For convenience sake an outline sketch of the various bureaus under the Ministry of Education is given on pages 144-146.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

MINISTER

VICE-MINISTER

PARLIAMENTARY VICE-MINISTER

PARLIAMENTARY COUNCILLOR

I MINISTER'S SECRETARIAT:—

1. SECRETARIAT SECTION
2. ARCHIVES SECTION
3. ACCOUNTANT SECTION
4. ARCHITECTURE SECTION
5. PHYSICAL TRAINING SECTION

II BUREAU OF HIGHER EDUCATION AFFAIRS:—

1. SCHOOL AFFAIRS SECTION:

Universities, higher schools, special schools, Astronomical Observatory, Institute for the Study of Infectious Diseases, Institute of Aeronautics, Research Institute for Metals, Earthquake Research Institute, Institute for Chemical Research, Hot-spring Cure Laboratory.

2. ART AND SCIENCE SECTION:

Imperial Academy, Imperial Academy of Fine Art, Scientific Conferences, Meteorological Observatory, Observatory for the Measurement of Latitude, Council of Aeronautics, Geodetic Committee, Committee for Compilation of Catalogues of Scientific Literatures, Council of Precautionary Measures against Earthquakes and Fire, Corporations.

III BUREAU OF GENERAL EDUCATION AFFAIRS:

1. SCHOOL AFFAIRS SECTION:

Primary schools, Kindergarten, normal schools, higher normal schools, women's higher normal schools, special institutes for training teachers, middle schools, girls' high schools, schools for blind, deaf and dumb.

2. GENERAL AFFAIRS SECTION:

Grants and subsidies, tests and certificates, corporations.

IV BUREAU OF BUSINESS EDUCATION AFFAIRS:—

1. COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION SECTION:

Special and ordinary technical schools, commercial schools, nautical schools, vocational schools, training of teachers.

2. AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION AFFAIRS:

Special and ordinary agricultural schools, fishery schools, training of teachers.

V BUREAU OF SOCIAL EDUCATION:—

1. YOUNG MEN'S EDUCATION SECTION:

Boy scouts, youths' schools, business continuation schools, conscript education.

2. ADULT EDUCATION SECTION:

Adult education, libraries, museums, exhibitions.

3. GENERAL AFFAIRS SECTION:

Cinema, popular amusements.

VI BUREAU OF THOUGHT PROBLEMS:—

1. THOUGHT PROBLEM SECTION:

Guidance and control of thought, Institute for National Spiritual Culture.

2. INVESTIGATION SECTION:

Investigation in thought problems and books for guidance of thought.

VII BUREAU OF BOOKS:—

1. COMPILATION AND REVISION SECTION:

National standard textbooks, national language.

2. PUBLICATION SECTION:

National standard textbooks.

VIII BUREAU OF RELIGION:—

1. RELIGION SECTION:

Religious sects, denominations, churches, priests, missionaries, temples, cathedrals, corporations.

2. PRESERVATION SECTION:

Historic spots, scenic beauties, natural monuments, national treasures, valuable art treasures.

COMPLETE NUMBER OF SCHOOLS IN
JAPAN IN 1934

These figures are for March, 1934.

All schools from primary schools to universities.....	45,903
Students and pupils.....	13,760,200

NOTE:—This represents one school in each 100 sq. km., and 20 students in 100 people.

Total numbers of schools and their enrolment in the five years 1930-1934:—

Year	Schools	Students
1934	45,903	13,760,200
1933	45,795	13,408,971
1932	45,766	13,073,854
1931	45,898	12,847,730
1930	45,803	12,549,320

The number of schools and students, classified according to the types of schools:—

	Schools	Students
Elementary Schools	25,702	11,035,288
Middle Schools	554	327,261
Girls' High Schools	975	371,807
Technical Schools.....	1,041	316,846
Technical Continuation Schools.....	15,140	1,271,530
Higher Schools	32	20,300
Universities	45	70,893
Special Schools	117	67,180
Special Technical Schools	54	23,082
Normal Schools	103	32,817
Higher Normal Schools	2	1,752
Higher Normal Schools for Women.....	2	836
Special Institutes for the Training of Teachers...	1	58
Institutes for the Training of Technical School Teachers.....	4	362
Institutes for the Training of Technical Continuation School Teachers	43	1,014
Schools for the Blind	78	4,709
Schools for the Deaf and Dumb	60	4,791
Miscellaneous Schools	1,950	209,674
<hr/>		
Total	45,903	13,760,200

(In the following pages, only the figures in 1934 are given, instead of those of five years.)

	School-age children	Children attending schools	Children not attending schools	Percentage of children attending schools
1934.....	11,024,552	10,978,718	54,814	99.58

The foregoing figures are here classified according to sex:—

	School-age children		Children attending schools		Percentage of children attending schools	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1934.....	5,589,175	5,435,357	5,566,300	5,412,418	99.59	99.58

The following figures give the number of elementary schools in Japan and the number of their children in 1934:—

	Elementary Schools			Children	
	Ordinary Elem. Schools	Ordinary & Higher Elec. Sc.	Higher Elec. Sc.	Ordinary Course	Higher Course
1934.....	7,079	18,457	166	9,479,977	1,555,501
Total ...		25,702			11,035,278

Note:—In the opinion of some authorities the Higher Elementary Schools should be listed among the secondary schools. They are, however, included here for convenience sake.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

<i>A</i> Middle Schools	Schools	Students
1934.....	534	327,261
<i>B</i> Girls' High Schools	Schools	Students
1934.....	975	371,807
<i>C</i> Technical Schools, etc.	Schools	Students
1934.....	1,041	316,846

HIGHER EDUCATION

<i>A</i> Universities	School Total	Students
1934.....	469	193,339
<i>B</i> Higher Schools	Schools	Students
1934.....	43	70,893
<i>C</i> Special Schools and Special Technical Schools		
1934.....	62	40,321

Of these figures there are 30 schools serving as preparatory courses for universities, with 20,021 students.

OTHER EDUCATION

<i>A</i> Kindergarten	Kindergarten	Children
1934.....	17,786	133,735
<i>B</i> Schools for the Blind		
1934.....	78	4,709
<i>C</i> Schools for the Deaf and Dumb		
1934.....	60	2,791

Blind, and Deaf and Dumb Children of School Age (March 1, 1934).

	Total	Those attending schools	Blind, Deaf & Dumb children per 10,000 children of school age	Percentage of those attending schools among Blind, Deaf & Dumb children
Blind.....	2,250	814	1.77	36.18
Deaf & Dumb	6,137	2,617	4.82	42.64
Blind, Deaf & Dumb...	46	0	0.04	0
Total.....	8,433	3,431	6.63	40.69

D Miscellaneous Schools

1934..... 1,950 209,674

	Schools	Students
Of these figures—Those resembling Elementary Schools	242	19,613
" " Middle Schools	109	20,096
" " Girls' High Schools	68	19,242
" " Special Schools	27	5,833
" " Technical Schools	514	57,808
Others	990	87,031
Total	1,950	209,623

STATE TEXT-BOOKS

Of the text-books in elementary schools there are state text-books on morals, language, arithmetic, history, geography, science, household management and drawing, which are compiled by the Department of Education. These text-books are for compulsory use in the elementary schools. Some other text-books are compiled by the Monbusho or are authorized by the Monbusho after investigation.

Text-books in secondary schools are all those examined and authorized by the Department of Education.

EDUCATION IN COLONIES

	Chosen (Korea) (May, 1934)		Formosa (April, 1935)	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
Elementary Education.....	2,701	636,958	917	423,155
Secondary ".....	81	19,531	24	1,409
Technical ".....	150	20,890	45	5,908
Higher ".....	16	4,912	5	1,083
Normal ".....	3	2,010	4	1,409

TRAINING OF TEACHERS

	Schools	Students
1934	157	37,006

Of these 1. Normal Schools—Organs for Training Elementary School Teachers.

	Schools	Students
1934	103	32,817

2. Schools for Training Teachers of Secondary Education.

Schools

	Higher Normal Schools Total	Higher N.S. for Women Students	Special Institutes for Training Teachers	Training Course of Drawing of Tokyo Fine Art School	Training Course of Grade of Tokyo Academy of Music
1934...	7	2	4	1	1
1934...	2,813	1,752	846	58	59

3. Organs for Training Technical School Teachers.

	Agricultural		Technical		Commercial		Total	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
1934...	1	111	2	150	1	101	4	362

4. Organs for Training Teachers of Youths' Schools.

Schools
1934.....48

Of these 48 Schools 44 were for men.
 2 were for women.
 2 were for both men and women.

THE INSPECTORATE AND TEACHING STAFF

In the final analysis the value of any system of education depends upon the quality of the teaching staff. This fact was recognized by the statesmen who inaugurated the modern system of national education in Japan, so that from the very beginning the absolute necessity of training a competent body of teachers was fully recognized. To do this, however, was not easy. When the new educational experiment was started Japan had very few scholars who were trained either in the subjects to be taught or in methods of teaching. During the early years of the great experiment, therefore, it was essential that particular emphasis be placed upon the work of the normal schools, and that

every effort be made to induce capable young men and women to enter the teaching profession. In most cases this was not easy as the monetary rewards were of necessity closely restricted, and with the opening of Japan to foreign contacts, and the consequent tremendous increase in trade and national activities, greater opportunities for personal advancement were offered to the ambitious youth of the nation in commerce, industry and the civil service than could be found in teaching. This conflict indeed has continued down to the present day, so that the meagre salaries which the educational authorities can afford to pay still offer the greatest single handicap in the development of a really competent and enthusiastic teaching body. In periods of economic depression there is, of course, no scarcity of teachers, but in this Japan is not different from other countries.

In order to offset to some extent the inevitable shortcomings of the hastily selected and somewhat inadequately trained teaching staff, the educational authorities of Japan have from the beginning outlined in great detail the material that is to be used by the teachers in the various grades, and have also prescribed the methods by which it is to be presented. In order to see that these instructions are understood and enforced, special emphasis has been placed upon the advisability of organizing a highly competent inspectorate. Here again, however, financial restrictions have interfered with the execution of departmental plans, and the number of inspectors has in fact never been sufficient adequately to supervise the work of the teachers in the rapidly expanding school system. From time to time efforts have been made to supplement the work of the national inspectors by placing part of the responsibility upon prefectural authorities and by investing with similar duties the directors of the various normal schools. The results, however, have not yet reached a condition that is satisfactory to the educational authorities, particularly as regards the inspection of middle and higher schools. At the present time the Department of Education maintains seventeen inspec-

tors whose duties are to inspect (1) educational administration (prefectural schools), (2) school education, (3) school hygiene, (4) school economics, and (5) work of school staff. There are also a few special inspectors for social education.

The position of the teacher in Japan appears somewhat anomalous to those acquainted with conditions in occidental countries. In the first place, not only the successful and capable teachers, but also the less prominent members of the profession are accorded a degree of respect that is seldom paralleled in the West, though it must be admitted that within recent years this respect has somewhat waned. On the other hand the Japanese teacher has very little of that autocratic power that is invested in his occidental *confrère*. Students can and do on occasion cause the resignation or removal of a teacher whose personality or methods have given them offence. Strikes and other organized protests are not by any means uncommon, and they usually result in the resignation of the teacher or administrator against whom they are directed. There is very little of that informal and friendly intercourse between the teacher and pupil which is so common in North America and Great Britain. There is, moreover, little or none of the "ragging" of the teachers which sometimes occurs in schools or universities abroad. The Japanese student will in general accord to his teacher or professor an attention and respect that would be most unusual in other countries. But when the students are offended, they take more serious and definite action to express their hostility than would be done by students in other countries. Japanese students for the most part are serious-minded and hard-working, and if their teachers are competent, and careful not to offend against the accepted standard, they will be rewarded with their students' diligence, courtesy and respectful appreciation.

It has already been said that in Japanese society the teacher is accorded a place of honour that does something to compensate him for the meagre financial rewards he receives. This fact, combined with the comparative ease with which

one can enter the teaching profession in Japan, has resulted in an over-supply of teachers in spite of the low salaries paid. This is specially so in the elementary and middle schools. Although many efforts have been made to improve the teaching by raising the standards of the normal schools, it is still true in a great measure that persons who would be found incompetent in the commercial or professional world do in Japan (as indeed in many other countries) find it possible to obtain positions as teachers. Thus, ease of entry into the profession, and the social prestige accorded its members, have resulted in supplying a very large number of comparatively low-grade teachers. That more competent teachers are not available is in part at least owing to the low salary scale, though the more conservative members of the profession claim that the economic question does not enter into the question since H. M. the Emperor graciously raised the profession to such a high plane in the Japanese esteem. Despite this opinion, however, there is ample evidence to the contrary, though it has to be admitted of the primary school teachers that it is doubtful whether in any other country in the world such a large number would go so long without their salaries as it has been revealed of large numbers of provincial primary school teachers within recent years. Male teachers in elementary schools average about Y70.00 per month, and women teachers receive about Y50.00. Salaries in middle schools approximate Y125.00 a month, while principals of such schools receive in the neighbourhood of Y200.00. University professors are paid from Y3,000.00 to Y5,000.00 a year, and presidents of Imperial universities (the highest paid academic posts in Japan) are given from Y7,000.00 to Y7,700.00 a year. But these salaries are not sufficiently attractive to lure ambitious young men into the teaching profession, unless they have a real affection for learning or a highly developed sense of civic responsibility.

The position of members of the teaching body in Japan is complicated by the recognition of a number of different grades or kinds of teaching certificates. In the elementary

schools, for example, the following classes of teachers are to be found :

- (1) *Regular teachers* with certificates enabling them to teach in any elementary school.
- (2) *Regular ordinary teachers* with certificates to teach in any ordinary elementary school.
- (3) *Special teachers* with certificates permitting them to teach some special subject such as singing, sewing or gymnastics.
- (4) *Assistant teachers* with certificates allowing them to assist regular teachers in any elementary school.
- (5) *Assistant ordinary teachers* who are allowed to assist the teachers in any ordinary elementary school.
- (6) In some cases *provisional teachers* without certificates are allowed to take the place of assistant teachers.

There are two kinds of elementary school teachers' certificates in Japan. A general certificate which is valid in any part of the country, and which is granted by the Minister of Education, and the prefectural certificate which is valid only in the prefecture by which it is issued. General certificates are granted to those who have served successfully at least ten years in elementary schools; to graduates of higher normal schools; to higher normal school graduates who have served at least three years as regular teachers; and to graduates of government schools who have special training fitting them to become teachers of special subjects and who have served at least three years. Prefectural teachers' certificates are granted to graduates of normal schools or to other approved schools, and to those who have passed examinations for the teachers' licence examination. The qualifications demanded for permission to accept positions as assistant teachers are not severe. Indeed, many such teachers are recruited from among those with little or no actual training of any kind. This is particularly true of those who are taken on in the less wealthy prefectures, where there is undoubtedly a constant temptation to obtain an increasing percentage of the whole teaching staff from such groups due often to prefectural penury.

One aspect of the position of teachers in Japan that is not

uncommon in other countries is observed in their disciplinary regulations. There are in Japan four forms of recognized punishment. These are, first; reprimand, second; reduction in salary by not more than one-third, nor for a period longer than one year, third; dismissal, and fourth; cancellation of the teaching certificate. These measures may be imposed by the school director or by the local authorities, but they must be reported, and are subject to review by the Department of Education.

Teachers in middle schools, in higher schools, and universities must obtain certificates from the Minister of Education, who grants them at his discretion to graduates of certain schools, or to those who have passed appropriate examinations. It is in the middle schools that the worst example of an over-supply of teachers is apparent. For many years the number of teaching posts in such schools that are open has been less than the number of graduates from the higher normal schools and other government institutions designed for the training of middle school teachers, without including the number of those teachers whose special qualifications have resulted in their obtaining government certificates permitting them to teach in middle schools. This would seem to be one case in which an immediate and drastic improvement in the qualifications demanded of prospective teachers should be at once instituted. Though there is a surplus of teachers of English in middle and higher schools, there is held each year the "Teachers' Licence Examination." Candidates from business houses, retired army and navy officers, and men and women from many different branches of society, take this examination, though should they obtain the licence, there are no teaching positions for them. The result is that many take the examination merely to raise their prestige, and, with luck, their salaries in the business and other houses where they are employed.

In other chapters further information will be found of the number of teachers and the ratio of teachers to pupils in the different types of schools. In general it may be said

that in Japan not only is the teacher underpaid but he is over-worked, and the quality of his work inevitably suffers from the size of the classes which he has to teach.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL FINANCE

I. SOURCES OF INCOME

JAPAN has now come very close to achieving the ideal condition of free and nation-wide elementary education. She claims an attendance of 99.58%. The 9,651,168 public elementary school children in the year 1929 paid in fees only ¥6,185,250.00, or an average of ¥.64 (or at the present rate of exchange less than 20¢ or 9d) per child, per year. In a large percentage of cases even this small sum is not paid, but a correspondingly larger amount is paid by those who are financially able to do so. Lack of money is not accepted as an excuse for non-attendance of children who should be going to the elementary schools. The local authorities in each district not only set the amount that is to be paid by the parents or guardians of the school children, but they also may, and do, grant part or full exemption to all those families which are deemed to be unable to make the required payments.

In the middle schools the financial burden upon the students is still comparatively light, at least in those cases in which the student is able to live at home. In 1929 there were 278,531 public middle school students, and the total amount of fees paid was ¥12,275,787. Then the average payment was still only ¥44.07 (\$12.34 or £2-10-0) per student, per annum. Although this sum means considerably more in Japan than it does in North America or Great Britain, it is still within the possibilities of most Japanese families outside the poorer agricultural districts or the slums of the great cities. In this respect, too great a stress

cannot be laid upon the willingness of the average Japanese parents to suffer personal privations in order to make possible the education of their sons, and, though to a lesser extent, of their daughters. It is one of the tragedies of Japanese life that parents who have made and are willing to continue making such sacrifices often find their efforts frustrated by the inability of the secondary schools and universities to admit all, or even a half, of the applicants who crowd their doors.

The following table shows the average annual fee paid by pupils to the public institutions of advanced or higher learning in Japan.

School	Average fee
Normal Schools	¥ 8.38
High Schools for Girls	37.88
Higher Schools	4.46
Special Schools.....	30.96
Technical Schools	33.75
Universities	13.05

In estimating the figures for the normal school students it must be borne in mind that they receive their full maintenance from the government. It must also be remembered that these figures in all cases refer only to government or public schools, and do not include the amounts spent by students attending schools organized and run by private individuals or groups.

As an examination of the foregoing figures will show, the amounts charged for tuition in Japan are comparatively low, and were tuition the only cost to the pupil or his parents the number of students unable to continue their studies on account of the size of the fees would be insignificant. The fact is, of course, that tuition is a very small part of the cost of education—the provision of food and lodging and the loss of income that would be obtained were the student at work—constitute the major items in the financial problem facing Japanese students who wish to pursue their studies beyond the compulsory years. Here the Japanese family system helps considerably, since a large number of students

attending the higher institutions are able to live with their relatives. But even when the student lives at home or with relatives these items are of serious importance to the average Japanese family, and as a result thousands of students who in happier circumstances might continue their studies with benefit to themselves and their country are annually forced to leave the schoolroom and enter—or try to enter—industry and commerce. As, however, society cannot absorb all those who graduate at the higher institutions, so that the “white-collared” professions are overcrowded, it is expedient to limit the number of entries to higher institutions and universities.

In an effort to minimize the hardships caused by this financial barrier, the Government and private individuals make large annual contributions to various funds for the endowment of promising students. Outstanding among these organizations is the Children's School Attendance Encouragement Fund. This was established with branches in each prefecture and money granted from the Privy Purse on the occasion of the wedding of His Majesty the Emperor in 1924. This fund has since been augmented by various contributions from private individuals and from prefectural governments. The interest derived from this fund, together with prefectural grants and private donations, is given to city, town, and village authorities who administer it either by direct donation to needy pupils, or by subsidizing organizations formed for the purpose of encouraging school attendance. The following figures for the year 1928-1929 illustrate the way in which the fund is administered:—

AMOUNT RECEIVED BY

PREFECTURES :

	Yen
From National Treasury	500,000
From Prefectural Expenses	180,601
From Stock Fund.....	158,617
From Endowments	6
From balance of preceding year	<u>217,258</u>
Total	1,056,482

GRANTS MADE BY

PREFECTURES:

	Yen
To Cities	153,851
To Towns and Villages	471,549
To Transfer to Fund	204,752
To Amount carried forward to following year	<u>226,330</u>
Total	1,056,482

EXPENDITURE BY LOCAL

AUTHORITIES

	Yen
Grants made to 24,885 individuals in cities, towns and villages	726,646
Grants to public bodies	112,136
Grants to others	<u>14,951</u>
Total	853,733

Of much greater importance than these funds for the assistance of impecunious students is the very strong Japanese tradition of personal benevolence in educational matters. The traditional patronage system which flourished in the middle ages, and which in so many instances led the feudal lords to provide educational facilities for the children of their supporters, is still alive today. It would be very difficult to compute the number of university students, for example, who are annually enabled to continue their studies by the aid of men of wealth or position and who for some reason or another are interested in their welfare. Even the old feudal relationship itself still persists in many cases, and until quite recently there were instances of one man supporting as many as twenty, forty or even one hundred students pursuing their university studies in the capital. There is of course no way of estimating the amount of money that is annually spent in this manner, but it must amount to a very considerable sum, and it is representative of one of the most admirable traits of the Japanese character, and proof of their respect for civic responsibilities.

Judged by North America, and even British standards, the remuneration received by teachers and professors in Japan (excluding foreign instructors who have been, and in many cases still are paid comparatively well) is lamentably small. It is true that the Japanese teacher derives a good

deal of his or her reward in other than financial ways, and that the standard of the teaching staff is not as weak as might otherwise be expected. But it is also true that the quality of the teaching will not reach the level that the authorities desire until some means has been found to increase the teachers' salary. Two of the compensations enjoyed by Japanese teachers for their relatively low salary are the public esteem and the right to retire with a pension after 15 years' service. The pension is so small, however, that they are usually compelled either to continue their service or to seek some other post to eke out a living.

There are in Japan many classifications into which the public school teachers are divided,⁽¹⁾ and there is an even greater variation in their remuneration. All that can be done here is to indicate in general terms the amounts that are paid to the teachers in the various types of school. The following table shows the average amount received in the year 1928-1929 by the teachers in the schools listed :—

Public Elementary Schools.....	¥ 57	per month.
Middle Schools	116	" "
Girls' High Schools	95	" "
High Schools	200	" "
Normal Schools	133	" "
Technical Schools	108	" "
Universities	217	" "

Note :—In 1931 there were cuts from 5% to 20%

EXPENDITURE

The total expenditure of the Department of Education for the year 1928-29⁽²⁾ was ¥134,901,100, of which ¥118,135,857 was listed as ordinary expenditure and ¥16,765,243 as extraordinary or special expenditure. The ordinary expenditure was divided as follows :

	Yen
The Department Proper.....	3,203,905
Meteorological Observatories	595,174

(1) See Section on Normal Schools

(2) As the Annual Report of the Japanese Department of Education is never published until five years after the close of the year under review these figures are the latest available.

Observatory for the Measurement of Latitude	Yen 43,838
Committees for the Examination of Physicians and Pharmacists	147,597
Grant for General Education	82,709,128
Encouragement Fund for Technical Education	870,524
Educational Fund for the Blind, the Deaf and the Dumb	136,710
Contribution for Additional Salaries for Long Service to the Teachers of Public Schools	940,548
Imperial Universities and Other Department Institutions	29,426,913
Other Expenses	6,677
Expenses for Investigating and Preserving Scenery and Historic and Natural Monuments	54,843
<hr/>	
Total	118,135,857

The following table shows in detail the total expenditure in the year 1928-29 of all educational bodies in Japan.

TABLE SHOWING FOR 1928-29 THE AMOUNT OF PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPENDITURE AND INCOME OF PREFECTURES, DISTRICTS, CITIES, TOWNS AND VILLAGES

	Elementary Schools.	Normal Schools.
	Yen	Yen
Salaries of professors, instructors, regular teachers, etc.	144,044,293	5,235,534
" " other teachers	14,936,747	436,892
" " kindergarten mistresses	47,009	28,000
" " dormitory superintendents	—	49,908
" " clerks	—	210,303
Grant for school physicians	942,332	18,595
Travelling expenses	4,100,428	195,861
Salaries of Yatoi, ushers, servants, etc.	11,730,467	599,692
Scholarships	572,338	5,458,823
Rent for ground and houses	1,661,168	47,434
Expenses for books, apparatus, etc.	7,733,995	379,718

Expenses for school furniture	8,079,148	345,378
" " articles of consumption	10,113,253	375,358
" " buildings	77,313,752	1,492,767
" " repairs	6,230,808	285,135
Other expenses	20,893,066	804,827
Total	308,398,804	15,964,227

Tuition fees	6,185,250	422,361
Kindergarten fees and fees paid by library visitors	52,046	14,455
Voluntary contributions	5,624,525	88,720
Amount derived from school stock property	2,587,636	16,387
Amount derived from other properties	594,286	510
Miscellaneous	1,406,157	34,810
Aid from the prefectural rates	967,787	—
Local taxes	214,730,896	11,886,984
National aid and grants	76,250,171	3,500,000
Total	308,398,804	15,964,227

Middle Schools	High Schools for Girls	Higher Schools	Universities	Special Schools	Technical Schools
Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
1,117,871	1,184,007	8,848	30,372	21,031	1,487,615
12,671,343	10,414,639	143,755	625,269	186,363	18,029,989
2,180,687	1,018,563	8,845	110,342	29,624	2,157,905
—	—	—	—	—	—
73,958	68,080	300	5,909	591	69,357
63,4490	542,119	6,098	216,202	12,297	772,016
—	—	—	88,547	—	—
48,502	47,985	370	480	588	61,847
464,648	389,848	7,718	78,876	9,894	804,819
1,510,200	1,152,175	26,126	870,259	27,921	5,190,572
13,426	4,140	—	4,327	—	41,111
41,326	72,570	500	2,360	—	287,433
619,853	550,893	20,366	291,355	27,133	1,480,933
684,694	587,722	25,202	167,706	15,358	1,438,717
642,777	533,062	9,892	419,168	20,895	1,754,993
6,072,614	3,615,629	331,376	572,360	107,447	3,632,135
462,089	379,585	1,514	132,269	4,543	514,380
1,379,467	1,241,496	47,905	1,217,452	13,760	3,433,810
—	—	—	—	—	—
28,617,945	21,792,563	638,815	4,833,253	477,645	41,156,732
—	—	—	—	—	—
12,275,787	10,078,888	75,652	329,621	107,106	7,290,057
—	—	—	—	—	—
871,383	831,785	120,000	351,541	100,000	1,215,809
217,997	19,564	40,705	9,167	—	96,413
1,897	2,715	—	31,047	—	35,016
265,145	711,118	21,735	3,860,772	5,151	903,584
40,824	351,441	—	—	—	2,301,698
14,944,912	9,797,052	380,723	250,605	265,388	29,264,163
—	—	—	500	—	49,992
28,617,945	21,792,563	638,815	4,833,253	477,645	41,156,732

Inst. for the Training of Technical Cont.		Blind Schools		Deaf and Dumb Schools		Miscellaneous Schools		Young Men's Training Institutes		Kindergarten		Libraries		Others		Total	
Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
6,394	30,796	9,975	10,273	—	—	21,649	38,060	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,986,691	191,893,296
123,671	184,588	61,197	172,155	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24,330,84	817,117
9,348	47,062	18,821	50,411	3,324,807	—	741,403	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	273,226	2,589,921
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	381,688	381,688
310	3,895	906	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	171,985	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6,047	13,889	3,108	3,078	—	—	—	—	—	—	111,733	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
339	1,931	513	508	1,148	—	4,956	—	—	—	18,441	203,493	—	—	—	—	1,130,091	6,634,402
12,529	10,466	2,286	2,226	316,991	10,678	18,441	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
45,102	46,341	19,164	85,645	279,067	168,631	278,073	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22,516,385	6,928,035
211,569	20,027	—	9,082	29,916	240	—	—	—	—	—	455,260	—	—	—	—	—	—
2,858	12,171	1,613	6,324	2,039	49,849	5,945	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,191,683	—
8,104	13,691	5,278	5,347	306,186	39,868	639,237	7,772	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13,129,729	—
6,998	17,290	7,372	12,974	617,662	47,890	94,449	15,356	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12,163,936	—
11,714	13,338	4,794	23,257	276,129	67,706	79,276	20,057	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14,364,799	—
22,393	100,049	18,791	25,661	1,703	23,739	479,187	192,771	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24,612,174	—
1,707	11,634	3,701	2,000	1,943	39,689	33,930	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,128,191	—
34,491	36,451	13,113	48,474	742,766	142,619	229,603	16,018,193	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	66,317,750	—
503,574	56,1569	178,408	458,357	5,900,357	1,583,752	2,199,924	39,013,562	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	471,321,931	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36,826,696	—
7,203	—	1,702	47,069	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	710,104	—
—	1,100	—	681	1,4013	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,149,019	—
—	6,836	287	1,013	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,374,033	—
—	105	—	93	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,100,347	—
6,493	6,615	3,319	1,904	1,126	—	374	14,477	419,824	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	24,099	—	1,128	1,032,912	—	716	4,760	765,090	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7,925,565	—
497,081	487,837	160,192	406,269	4,832,303	948,457	1,866,360	31,227,399	8,792	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	41,744,707	—
—	—	36,744	12,868	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32,194,642	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	81,444,889	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18,918,046	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,199,924	—

The figures in the foregoing table show that Japanese public bodies spent on education in the year under review a total of ¥471,321,951. This equals a per capita expenditure of approximately ¥8.00, or \$4.00 at par. This can be compared with the approximate per capita expenditure of Canadian \$15.00 in the Province of British Columbia, and American \$18½ in the State of Oregon. In Great Britain on the other hand (and this is explained in part by the greater prevalence of private schools), the per capita expenditure on education in the same year was only slightly over £2.00, or about 4s-4d at par.

The expenditure per student in the various types of government schools during 1928-29 was approximately as follows :

Elementary Schools	¥ 31.00
Middle Schools	103.00
Girls' High Schools	81.00
Higher Schools	36.00
Normal Schools	301.00
Universities	193.00

EDUCATIONAL EXPENSES

(Budget for 1933—Latest figures)

LOCAL PUBLIC BODIES

1933	State Treasury	Prefectures	Cities	Towns and Villages	Private Ed'l Organs	Grand Total
	173,130,000	105,369,000	102,406,000	202,816,000	62,512,000	646,233,000

¥471,130,000 being the amount spent by the state and local public bodies, the amount per capita of the population is 7 yen and 1 sen for 1933.

Here is given a fuller account of the expenditure.

	State Treasury	Pre-fectures	Cities	Towns & Villages		Private Ed'l Organs	Total
Elementary Education.	100,982	50,167	84,657	176,040	1,266	393,112*	
Secondary Education...	1,594	53,785	10,301	16,981	18,093	100,754	
Higher Education	56,787	2,468	1,273	—	22,775	83,303	
Normal Education.....	3,425	9,518	—	—	—	—	12,943
Blind, Deaf and Dumb Education	438	1,197	164	—	357	—	
Other Education	—	239	354	60	13,266	13,919	
Total	163,226	97,374	96,749	193,081	55,757	604,031	
Other Expenditure...	9,904	7,995	5,657	9,797	6,775	40,108	
Grand Total	173,130	105,369	102,406	203,878	62,512	644,139	

* (Units of 1,000 Yen).

The amount (Y494,912,000) is distributed among the following types of schools.

1933	Educational Expenditure Yen	Students & Pupils	Yen
Elementary Schools	290,195,592	11,035,278	26,297
Middle Schools	25,538,247	327,261	78,036
Girls' High Schools	25,139,338	371,807	67,614
Higher Schools	5,596,359	20,300	275,682
Universities (including Higher Normal Schools)	53,927,051	72,645	760,987
Specials Schools.....	13,537,901	67,180	201,517
Special Technical Schools.....	10,045,078	23,082	435,191
Technical Schools	28,911,583	316,846	91,248
Technical Continuation Schools	16,041,759	1,271,530	12,616
Higher Normal Schools for Women.	525,593	846	621,268
Normal Schools.....	9,509,417	32,817	289,771
Special Institutes for Training Teachers	8,005	58	138,017
Institutes for Training Technical School Teachers.....	95,168	362	262,895
Institutes for Training Technical Continuation School Teachers.....	502,817	1,014	298,630
Blind, Deaf and Dumb Schools	1,846,794	9,500	194,399
Miscellaneous Schools	13,691,426	209,674	65,299
Grand Total	494,912,128	13,760,200	35,967

ARMY, NAVY AND EDUCATION BUDGETS COMPARED

The following figures show the comparative budgets for Army, Navy and Education during the past six years. It will be observed that though the budget of the Ministry of Education is itself far below that of the Army and Navy, the aggregate of the sums spent by the Ministry of Education and the local bodies actually amounts to more than the sums allocated to either the Army or the Navy.

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE AND BUDGET

	Army	Navy	Education	Ministry of Education	Local Ed. Ex.	School, Private Association
1936	508,317,000	551,467,000	596,529,255	142,678,000	453,851,255	
1933	492,958,000	529,683,000	577,907,634	149,825,000	428,082,634	
1934	453,695,000	489,147,000	557,434,115	152,105,765	405,328,350	87,274,000}
1933	462,644,000	409,975,000	532,984,684	148,239,255	384,901,441	57,930,687}
1932	373,575,000	312,809,000	519,583,886	137,239,255	382,344,631	These figures are not included in total Ed. Exp.
1931	227,488,000	227,129,000	549,667,431	143,320,002	406,347,429	
1930	200,824,000	242,035,000	591,542,140	144,373,838	447,168,312	

PART III.

CHAPTER VI

KINDERGARTEN AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

I. KINDERGARTEN

The first Kindergarten in Japan was opened in 1876 by the Tokyo Higher Normal School. At that time the principles of the German innovator Froebel were attracting wide attention, and this first Japanese Kindergarten was designed to apply his principles under the supervision of the Higher Normal School.

Since 1876 the number of Kindergarten in Japan has rapidly increased. In 1925 there were already more than 933, with 2,933 teachers and 84,500 pupils. The figures in 1933-34 were:—1,786, with 5,521 teachers and 133,735 pupils.

Most of the Kindergarten are private, and though the Ministry has not opened many State Kindergarten, it has done much to encourage the opening of private, prefectural or municipal schools for children of pre-school age. Until the revision of the school ordinance which placed Kindergarten outside the jurisdiction of the primary school, the Kindergarten did not increase in proportion to the primary schools. Since this reform, however, they have increased considerably, as the figures show. The Ministry allows, moreover, considerable elasticity in the Kindergarten. This means that because of the absence of any well-organized system governing them, the Japanese pre-school institutions are of all sorts, and many would not be permitted to work under any thorough system of school inspection since they cannot fit into any sound educational category.

For the most part the Japanese Kindergarten cater for the children of the wealthy and upper middle classes. For the masses there is a system of day nurseries or crèches, but the greater part of the children receive no systematic training until they enter the elementary schools.

The Kindergarten are open to children above the age of three, and receive children until they are of age to enter the primary school, which is at six. They aim chiefly at developing the body and mind, fostering good dispositions, rectifying unpleasant idiosyncrasies and generally collaborating with parents in training the young children. Even today, however, there is considerable uncertainty in regard to what should really constitute the object of the Kindergarten in Japan. Some of the Kindergarten seriously strive to appropriate the best thought of Japanese and foreign Kindergarten specialists. Here the American missionary Kindergarten have frequently been taken as their model. But a large number of the institutions attempt to do little more than entertain the children from the time they arrive in the morning until either the parents or maids call for them in the afternoon. As, however, the Japanese have the genius for entertaining and teaching children of tender years, it is safe to say that even when there is no organized teaching on established Kindergarten principles in these institutions, the children learn much that is useful both in character-building and in preparing them to take the fullest advantage of what the primary school has to offer them later. To effect this, special apparatus is available in the best Kindergarten. Facilities are also provided for recreation, amusement, observation, singing, conversation and manual training; but text-books so-called are not used. Some Kindergarten are sufficiently advanced as to give systematic training in such advanced subjects as the *kata-kana* alphabet, but others do not make any effort to develop in the children even an appreciation of the elementary phenomena of form, except indirectly through games. But such extremes as these are to be expected in a country where anyone may establish a Kindergarten and conduct it without any regular or

effective form of either supervision or inspection, though it is the regulation that qualified nurses and mistresses should be employed. It must therefore be understood in respect of the Japanese Kindergarten that they have not progressed in line with the primary schools.

How THE KINDERGARTEN WORKS IN JAPAN

In accordance with the Ordinance Relating to Kindergarten, cities, towns, villages or private persons may establish Kindergarten. Then there are, has as already been pointed out, the Kindergarten attached to the Tokyo and Nara Higher Normal Schools for Women. Normal schools which admit women students are also encouraged to establish attached Kindergarten.

The Kindergarten in general admit infants from three years to the age when they are entitled to enter the primary school. But with the Prefectural Governor's sanction the Kindergarten may admit children under three years of age, on application by the directors or directresses of public Kindergarten and the founders of private Kindergarten.

The Japanese Kindergarten are generally directed by a superintendent and several tutors. The tutors are usually expected to have attained the same or even a superior cultural standard to that of the teachers of primary schools, and the aim is to appoint Kindergarten specialists in the public Kindergarten.

The number of infants for any one Kindergarten is limited to 120, and no teacher is allowed to teach more than 40 infants. The equipment is also rather strictly regulated in the public Kindergarten, though there is considerable elasticity in the private Kindergarten.

The Tokyo and Osaka Kindergarten are the most advanced in Japan. In 1930, Osaka, with its population of 2,300,000, had 46 city Kindergarten with 9,097 infants and 244 teachers, an average of 38 children per teacher. There were also in the same year in Osaka 23 private Kindergarten which were chiefly operated by Buddhist and Christian

organizations, among which seven were conducted by foreigners.

DAY NURSERIES

In the West it is customary to find day nurseries attached to, or as an integral part of, the Kindergarten. In Japan, however, they are generally separate. This is largely because the Kindergarten have come to be regarded as more or less the prerogative of the aristocracy and upper middle class who can pay for their children at a tender age to receive the benefits of Kindergarten training. On the other hand, the day nurseries are more democratic institutes which cater in the main for the working classes. The day nurseries proved such a boon to rural communities and the working-classes in the industrial towns that about the year 1930 there was a demand for them to be included with the Kindergarten. The result was that the Ministry of Education promulgated about that time an ordinance uniting the two for the sake of the common welfare.

By their very nature the day nurseries are usually found in the industrial quarters of the large cities. They are supported by the cities, towns, villages and philanthropists. In 1930 there were between 500 and 600 day nurseries throughout Japan. The attention given in the day nurseries closely resembles that of the Kindergarten, though stricter care is given to sanitation and hygiene. In some instances infants younger than three years of age are taken care of at these institutions.

The day nursery hours are usually from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. This has been arranged to permit the fathers of many of the infants to take their children to the Kindergarten as they go to their work in the morning, and to call for them on their way home in the afternoon. As the Japanese father usually delights in looking after his children in this way, this arrangement is not at all unusual, as it might be considered in the West. There are also the mothers and maids who take the infants and leave

them there until the afternoon when they go to call for them.

The rural districts find the day nurseries a boon, especially in seed and harvest time when the parents and elder children are often away from morning till evening. The rural districts keenly desire to see many more day nurseries established to help to care for the children during their parents' absence. To satisfy the demand, there are some day nurseries established at village temples, shrines and primary schools. A responsible teacher conducts them, usually with the support of some volunteers who are often the daughters of public-spirited families in the communities. These rural day nurseries will take care of children over three months old.

The following table shows the annual comparative statistics of the number of classes, mistresses, infants, those whose term of training is expired, those admitted, etc. in the government Kindergarten from 1925 to 1930.

		No. of Classes	No. of Mistresses	Infants			Infants whose term of training expired during the year			Those admitted		
				Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Kindergarten attached to the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women	1929-30	6	7	98	74	172	47	36	83	53	37	90
	1928-29	6	7	92	69	161	44	32	76	52	38	90
	1927-28	6	6	91	70	161	45	34	79	51	39	90
	1926-27	6	6	86	71	157	40	35	75	46	38	84
	1925-26	6	4	81	75	156	43	37	80	51	36	87
Kindergarten attached to the Nara Higher Normal School for Women	1929-30	7	7	119	116	235	87	80	167	88	88	176
	1928-29	7	7	120	114	234	85	80	165	94	92	186
	1927-28	7	7	126	108	234	93	79	172	97	87	184
	1926-27	7	6	114	117	231	81	90	171	86	83	169
	1925-26	8	5	122	111	233	90	74	164	86	73	159

The following table shows the annual comparative statistics of the number of public and private Kindergarten, their classes, mistresses, infants, etc. from 1925 to 1930:—

	No. of Kindergartens	No. of Classes	Miscellanies	Infants								No. of Infants per Kindergarten	No. of Infants per Branch					
				Public				Private										
				Total Public	Total Private	Male Public	Female Public	Total Male	Total Female	Total Male	Total Female							
1929-30	461	934	1,395	1,504	2,386	3,890	1,562	2,719	4,281	28,052	26,321	54,373	30,506	29,462	59,968	114,341	3.07	26.67
1928-29	429	862	1,291	1,411	2,136	3,547	1,482	2,416	3,898	26,512	25,048	51,560	28,206	27,073	55,279	106,839	3.02	27.36
1927-28	401	799	1,180	1,317	1,971	3,286	1,354	2,226	3,580	24,969	23,329	48,298	25,908	24,773	50,681	98,979	3.04	27.61
1926-27	372	692	1,064	1,245	1,773	3,018	1,286	1,968	3,254	24,281	22,380	46,661	24,039	23,334	47,373	94,034	3.07	28.83
1925-26	347	608	955	1,106	1,518	2,624	1,140	1,669	2,809	22,239	19,759	41,998	20,808	20,023	40,831	82,829	2.95	29.41

X Foreigners.

Δ Branch.

The following table shows the position of the Kindergarten in 1933-34. These are the last official figures published.

Kinder- garten	Nurses (Teachers)			Boys	Infants		Total
	Certified	non-certified	Total		Boys	Girls	
Government Kindergarten	2	4	0	14	205	193	398
Public K.	532	1,544	272	1,816	30,921	28,823	59,744
Private K.	1,250	2,239	1,458	3,697	37,693	35,900	73,593
Branches..	2						
Grand Total	1,786	3,797	1,730	5,527	68,819	64,916	133,735

Those who completed Kindergarten	Teachers								
	Those catered for			per Kinder- garten	per K.	per Teacher			
	Boys	Girls	Total						
Government Kindergarten	128	119	247	143	127	270	7.0	199.0	28.4
Public K.	23,688	22,285	45,973	28,488	26,724	55,212	3.4	112.3	32.9
Private K.	23,958	22,766	46,624	33,849	32,270	66,119	3.0	58.8	19.9
Branches...									
Grand Total	47,674	45,170	92,844	62,480	59,121	121,601	3.1	74.9	24.0

Types of School	No. of Schools	No. of Mistresses	No. of Infants	No. of infants per mistress	No. of Mistresses per school
Government Kinder- garten (1933-34)	2	14	398	28.4	7.0
Public Kindergarten ... (1933-34)	532	1,816	59,744	32.9	3.4
Private Kindergarten... (1933-34)	1,250	3,697	73,593	19.9	3.0
Branches.....	2				

II. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The school year in Japan begins on the 1st April and ends on the 31st March. It is divided into three terms: from the 1st April to the 31st August; from the 1st September to the 31st December, and from the 1st January to the 31st March. Prefectural Governors are allowed to fix the allocation of holidays within the 90 days. Summer holidays total about one month; a fortnight is allowed at New Year, and about three weeks at the end of the school year. There

are in addition some ten public holidays during the year, and of course all Sundays are free. The total number of holidays, exclusive of Sundays, is not supposed to exceed ninety days. The Monbusho allows the Prefectural Governors to give pupils holidays up to 90 days in a year, besides Sundays.

The elementary school course is divided into the ordinary course of six years and a higher course of either two or three years. The six years' elementary course is compulsory, but the higher course is not, though almost all attend. Though all pupils are expected to attend the elementary school for eight years, or until the course is finished, there are many loopholes in the regulations, particularly as applied to children in the country districts, which enable these regulations to be evaded at least in part. Children are expected to enter the elementary school at six years of age, and in general to continue their studies until they reach the age of fourteen. Although the Japanese people are in general intensely interested in education, economic and family problems frequently result in parents finding it desirable to cause their children to absent themselves. So keen are the average Japanese parents to send their children to school that little is done to force the delinquent parents to do their duty, and as there are no Attendance Inspectors or Truant Officers as in England, the law is rarely invoked to punish them. This is particularly true in the country districts where the children's help in the work of the farms is of definite economic value. Moreover, in many country districts the distance that the children must go in order to attend school is often very great, so that when weather conditions are unfavourable there is some excuse for the frequent absences which occur.⁽¹⁾

School hours vary greatly in different parts of the country and at different times of the year. In some places where the school facilities are restricted the one building is often used for the instruction of two shifts of children on each day. In such cases the first group of children may have to

(1) Thomas. *op. cit.* pp. 51-52.

arrive at school as early as seven o'clock in the morning. In general the school day averages about six hours, and this continues for a six day week. Classes and schools in both the ordinary and the higher elementary course are entirely coeducational.

The system of double shifts is specially applied to the upper classes. It is usually worked alternately week by week, from 8 a.m. to 12 noon and from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. It should be observed, however, that this double shift system in some of the Japanese rural elementary schools is nothing more than a temporary expedient. The authorities are gradually dispensing with the system as new schools are being built.

CO-EDUCATIONAL AND SEPARATE CLASSES IN RURAL SCHOOLS

Where numbers and finances permit, the children in the rural schools are divided into classes, but there are still many places, especially in the country districts, where all the pupils are taught in one class. Then, in some of the schools where the numbers permit, the school-masters divide the boys and girls into separate classes, but in this matter the Ministry and prefectures permit the organizing of joint classes as a special measure to meet the local needs. Generally speaking the Japanese rural teachers seem to prefer coeducational classes, as they claim that the result is wholesome and that as a rule the harder-working girls provide a challenge to the boys.

OBJECT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

The object of elementary school education as defined by the Monbusho is "to instil into the youthful minds the elements of moral and general education, and the knowledge and ability essential for the conduct of life, care being taken at the same time to develop the physique of the children." As has been pointed out in the sketch of the historical developments of the modern Japanese educational system,

moral objectives are primary in the training of Japanese children. The system is designed to produce "Japanese subjects of unquestioning loyalty to the Emperor, conscious of their duties of citizenship and their obligations to one another, frugal, virtuous and obedient and sufficiently informed to be able to fulfil their functions in a modern civilized State."⁽¹⁾ Naturally, the greatest emphasis is placed upon loyalty to the Emperor and the State. The fulfilment of filial obligations and the propriety of obedience to superiors are inculcated in the child long before he enters school. The same also is true of the training in etiquette and manners, the foundations for which are well laid in the home. These subjects are taught in the school by direct instruction under the general term of "morals," and they are indirectly stressed in other courses by reading selections, histories and in other ways.

INCULCATION OF LOYALTY

Loyalty as the primary virtue to be inculcated through the educational system is further emphasized by appropriate ceremonies and rites. These include group visits to local shrines or historical monuments, but above all by the care and reverence that are shown in the preservation of the portraits of the T. M. the Emperor and Empress which are distributed to most government schools, and of the copy of the Imperial Rescript on Education which is given to every school in the Empire without exception. The portraits of the Emperor and Empress are kept in a special place, most often in a small separate building erected for that sacred purpose. On public occasions the portraits are brought out and placed in the hall where the obeisance is to be made, and the same respect is paid to them as if Their Imperial Majesties were present in person. There has been more than one instance of a school teacher losing his life in an effort to save these sacred portraits when a school building has been burning. Such a sacrifice, of course, appeals profoundly to the Japanese ima-

(1) MacDermot. *op. cit.*

gination, and the teachers involved have been revered as heroes. There are also many examples of school directors committing suicide when they have been unable to save the Imperial portrait, or when they have in any way been treated disrespectfully. Such is the Japanese sentiment and loyalty in this reverence for the school Imperial portraits that a director would be morally blamed were he not to expiate by suicide what he considers as sacrilege due to his neglect and personal responsibility. On certain special holidays the teachers and pupils assemble in the school for patriotic observances. After singing the *Kimi-ga-yo* (the Japanese National Anthem) they make profound obeisance before the portraits of Their Imperial Majesties, following which the principal or director of the school reads aloud the Imperial Rescript on Education. The rolled parchment upon which this is written is brought into the assembly hall on a lacquered tray carried by an official wearing a pair of spotlessly white gloves. The principal when handling the roll wears similarly immaculate gloves, and during the reading in a reverential monotone the teachers and children stand with heads bowed and bodies slightly bent. The influence of these impressive ceremonies upon the susceptible minds of young children can easily be imagined.

DISCIPLINE

The director or principal of the school is responsible for the maintenance of discipline among the pupils, and for this purpose is empowered to administer punishment to offenders. Different from the custom in most other countries, however, corporal punishment is practically unknown in Japan, where reprimand, detention, suspension and expulsion are the usual forms of punishment. There is also a punishment known as "*kinshin*," which means putting the delinquent in a state of respectful attention or introspection. In the earlier years of the elementary school, teachers also are allowed to make a pupil stand in a corner of the room. But the imposition of "lines" or any other similar task as a form of punishment is almost unknown. There is no nation

in the world that is more sensitive to public opinion than the Japanese. This fact is so true, even among children, that a public reprimand by a teacher is felt to be a very severe punishment indeed. This sensitivity doubtless results in a large measure from the old Chinese school system adopted in Japan in the middle ages. Foreign teachers employed in Japanese schools often find it difficult to appreciate the full significance of this fact, and are sometimes placed in a very difficult position when they find that criticism of a pupil or his work, which would be accepted as commonplace by western students, results in quite serious complications when addressed to a Japanese student.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Reference has been made to the emphasis placed by the Department of Education upon the care which must be exercised in the schools for the development of the children's physique. This is one of the most serious problems facing Japan at the present time, and its discussion will be postponed to a later chapter. It is enough to say here that it is very doubtful indeed whether the children of any other nation would have achieved as much as have those of Japan in the last seventy-five years had they been forced to study under the conditions which persisted in most of the Japanese schools during the greater part of that time.

In 1900, the Monbusho issued regulations stating in detail the objectives and the methods to be employed in the teaching of the various subjects included in the elementary school curriculum. These instructions clearly illustrated the essentials of elementary education in Japan.

TEACHING OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE

The instructions for the teaching of the Japanese language are as follows :

“ The essential in the teaching of the language is to make children know words in common use, and such (Chinese) characters and sentences as are most necessary in daily use, to

enable them to express their thoughts correctly and distinctly, taking care at the same time to develop their intellectual and moral capacities. In the ordinary elementary schools, instruction should begin with correct articulation, and reading, writing and joining together, so as to form words and easy sentences of *kana*; after some progress has been made, characters most necessary in daily use (Chinese ideographs) and easy sentences in ordinary style should be practised. In the higher elementary schools, more advanced parts of the same should be taught. Although different hours may be allotted to reading, writing, and composition, great attention must be paid to treat them as mutually related. Sentences in readers must be easy, and at the same time examples of good Japanese and should be such as to interest and refine the minds of the children. The matter should be taken from morals, history, geography, science and such other topics as are useful in daily life, and must be such as are rich in interest for children. Readers for girls should specially contain matters relating to household affairs. The subjects of composition should be topics in the readers or in other subjects of instruction or such matters as children meet with daily or as are useful in life; the style should be easy and clear. The writing of the Chinese ideographs in writing lessons should be either in *kaisho* (formal or regular style) or *gyosho* (semi-cursive style). Care must be taken to make the children understand the meaning of words and sentences clearly and accurately. They should be made to apply characters already learnt, to write ordinary names of persons and places, to write single words, short phrases and sentences to dictation, or to paraphrase them, so as to get thoroughly well practised in the use of *kana* and of words and phrases. Exercises in words should always be attended to, while teaching other subjects; children should, whenever they write, be made to write correctly and neatly.”

TEACHING OF HISTORY

The following are the chief regulations for the teaching of history :

“ The essential aim of teaching Japanese history is to make children comprehend ‘ the fundamental character of the Empire ’ and to foster in them the national spirit. Children should be taught the outlines of the establishment of the Empire, the

continuity of the Imperial dynasty, the illustrious works of successive Emperors, deeds of the loyal, the good and the wise, the origin and progress of civilization, relations with foreign countries, etc., so as to acquire a general knowledge of what the Empire has passed through from its establishment to the present. Drawings, pictures, specimens, etc., should be shown as much as possible, so that the children may be able to form a vivid conception of the actual state of the old times. It is above all important to keep in touch with the teaching of morals."

TEACHING OF MUSIC

Music has always played a rather prominent part in Japanese life, but in spite of the interest taken in it, music undoubtedly remained the most primitive of all the Japanese arts. This is largely due of course to unqualified teaching of music in the class-room. When therefore the question of instruction in music arose, and particularly in singing, at the time of the inauguration of the new education system, it was decided to introduce western music to which preference was quickly given. For this purpose foreign melodies were introduced and Japanese words written to accompany them. According to the regulations of 1900:

"The object of teaching singing is to enable children to sing simple tunes, and at the same time, to cultivate the sense of the beautiful and to foster the moral susceptibilities of children. In the ordinary elementary course, when singing is added to the curriculum, children should be taught easy single part singing (without use of notes). In the higher elementary course, (notes may be used); little advanced lessons may be given in compound part singing. Words and tunes should be easy and elegant and such as are calculated to make the minds of children lively and to elevate their character."

TEACHING OF DOMESTIC SCIENCE

While the boys in the elementary school are given some training in the essentials of the manual arts the girls are given some rudimentary instruction in domestic science, particularly sewing. Japanese clothes are on the whole

much simpler than those of Europe, America or even China. Moreover, they follow the Japanese tradition of simplicity and the elimination of all ornament. In consequence, it is not so necessary for the ordinary Japanese girl to learn much of the more intricate sewing technique. The result is that most Japanese young girls are not attracted to the more intricate western-style methods of sewing so that special schools are provided for those girls who desire to take up sewing as a means of earning their living. Such elaborate embroidery, for example, as is common in China is practically unknown in Japan, though the Japanese embroidery is, in its way, equally delicate in texture. In view of these facts the regulations for instruction in sewing show that only a low standard of proficiency is required of the girls in elementary schools.

“In sewing lessons, girls must be taught to be proficient in the cutting and sewing of ordinary pieces of clothing, and trained to be frugal and thrifty. When sewing is added to the curriculum of the ordinary elementary course, the lesson should begin with the management of the needle, and then advance from the sewing of easier pieces by degrees to other ordinary pieces of clothing. In the higher elementary course the teaching should proceed in a similar way, going on to the sewing, cutting, and mending of all ordinary pieces of clothing. Materials used in sewing lessons should be such as are commonly used. Girls must be taught the use of different instruments, the kind and nature of materials, methods of preserving and washing clothes.”

TEACHING OF SCIENCE

The fourth, fifth and sixth years of the ordinary elementary course, and in the two years of the higher elementary course, students are given some instruction in the fundamentals of scientific knowledge. These include the study and observation of plants, animals, minerals and natural phenomena. From this they progress to a study of elementary mechanics and the simple facts of physical and chemical activity.

"The object of teaching science is to let children know something of common natural objects and phenomena, and to make them understand their relations to one another and to mankind, at the same time training them in habits of accurate observation and fostering a love of nature. Instruction should be given chiefly with reference to such matters as come under the daily observation of children. They should be made to know the names, forms, uses and general outline of the development and life of the more important plants and animals. Then, if the length of the course allows, ordinary physical and chemical phenomena, principal elements and compounds, construction and action of simple instruments, and elements of human physiology and hygiene should be explained to them, as well as the relations of animals, plants and minerals to one another and to mankind. In teaching science, care should be taken to introduce matters intimately connected with agriculture, marine productions, industry and daily household life. Especially in teaching about plants, animals, etc., the principal objects manufactured from them, the outline of the manufacturing processes and their uses should be explained. Actual observation should be made the basis of teaching. Specimens, models, drawings, etc., should be used and simple experiments made, in order to give a clear understanding of the subject."

TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY

Instruction in geography begins in the fifth year, and opens with an outline discussion of the geography of Japan itself. In general it is only in the last year of the higher elementary course that any progress is made towards an understanding of the geography of foreign countries. As a very considerable percentage of elementary school children never reach the final year of the higher elementary school course it is not unfair to assume, as indeed is generally admitted to be the case, that the average Japanese student has but a slight knowledge of world geography. It is, moreover, noteworthy that most foreign instructors in higher schools and universities in Japan consider that students are generally weak in geography, a fact which Japan's insularity may explain in part, but perhaps more still that it is not imposed as a subject required by the

entrance examinations for high schools, and the students have therefore neither the time nor the inclination to study what examinations do not demand.

“ The essential object in the teaching of geography is to give children a general knowledge of the condition of the earth’s surface and of the life of its inhabitants, and to make them understand in a general way how our country stands in the world, and to instil into their minds the love of their country. The general physical features of the country, the climate, the division, chief cities, productions, means of communication, etc., are to be taught in the geography of Japan, as well as the form, motion, etc., of the earth. Then according to the length of the course, physical features, climate and division of continents, means of communication ; chief cities, productions, etc., of countries important in their relations with our country ; the political and economic conditions of our country, its position vis-a-vis foreign countries, etc. are to be taught. In teaching geography, observation of actual things should be made the basis as much as possible, globes, maps, specimens, photographs, etc., should be shown, so that children may acquire real knowledge. Care must be taken to keep up continual connection with the teaching of history and science.”

DIVISION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Elementary schools can be divided into four categories:—
(1) schools established by private individuals ; (2) those established by cities, towns and villages ; (3) schools attached to Government higher normal schools, and (4) those attached to prefectural normal schools. They also vary considerably in the courses offered. There are ordinary elementary schools giving only the ordinary six year course. There are higher elementary schools giving only the higher course of two or three years, and there are schools which give both courses. There are also some schools in which a supplementary course is provided. The following table gives an idea of the numbers and importance of the various types of elementary schools in 1933-34 . . . the latest statistics officially published :—

I

No. of Schools (1933-34)	City, Town and Village	Private	Attached to H.N.S. & H.N.S. for Women	Total
Ordinary	6,997	82	—	7,079
Ordinary and Higher	18,434	19	4	18,457
Higher	165	1	—	166
TOTAL	25,596	102	4	25,702

TIME TABLE AND CURRICULA OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

On the following page will be found a table showing the hours and standards of instruction in the ordinary elementary course. Because of its importance in the scheme of Japanese education and of Japanese life, it is desirable to describe in some greater detail the form of instruction that is given to Japanese elementary school pupils under the heading of "Morals." According to the departmental regulations the teaching of morals must be based on the Imperial Rescript. In the ordinary elementary course, easy precepts appropriate to the age of the children, and covering such virtues as filial piety and obedience to elders, affection and friendship, frugality and industry, modesty, fidelity and courage are first given. Then emphasis is placed upon duties towards the state and society, with particular relation to the encouragement of loyalty and patriotism. These virtues are emphasized by illustrations from the lives of national heroes and by committing to memory wise sayings and proverbs. There is one set of text-books for the children, and another with a teacher's manual for the teachers with one volume for each year, except that during the first year there is no book for the children, and its place is taken by a series of pictures to be shown to the whole class. In the children's books only short sentences to be read with pictures are given, but in the teacher's manual there is given first the object of each lesson; second, an outline of the explanation that should be given; third points to be attended to in the lesson; and fourth questions

that should be addressed to the children. The number of hours to be devoted to each lesson is also indicated. As an illustration of the form and content of this teaching the following quotation from the teacher's manual covering the lesson on the Emperor is worthy of examination :

“ The Emperor (3)

The talk should be somewhat as follows :

“ The palace in which His Majesty the Tenno usually lives is in Tokyo. This picture represents His Majesty the Tenno going out of his palace ; that is the palace seen in the distance ; His Majesty is in that carriage ; people by the roadside are making the profoundest obeisance. His Majesty is named Mutsuhito, and is a son of the Emperor Komei and succeeded to the throne at the age of sixteen and is now fifty-three (Meiji 37th year). His Majesty the Tenno is the personage who rules over us ; he loves his people most deeply. You are fortunate in being brought up under his warm and benevolent rule.”

The points to be attended to are :

“ (1) Both words and attitude of the teacher during this lesson should be grave and weighty and very respectful. (It should here be remarked that in Japanese there is a special form of speech to show respect, which is capable of various gradations, and the use of honorifics in a proper manner is by no means easy).

(2) During this lesson some explanation of the Kimi-ga-yo (the National Anthem) should be given.

(3) This lesson should be made so as to have a connection with the celebration of the Tenchosetsu (Emperor's Birthday, and this lesson is timed to fall near the day), and children should be told as fully as they can understand about His Majesty the Tenno.”

Special regulations are also issued for the teaching of :— arithmetic, drawing, gymnastics, manual work, agriculture, technical training, commercial subjects, household science and foreign languages.

PRACTICAL TRAINING

In addition to the exhortations and didactic elements in

the Japanese teaching methods there is a definite emphasis placed on the use of an objective technique. In order that the children may learn how business and industry are carried on, school visits are arranged to business-houses, commercial establishments, industrial plants, railway stations, docks and other essential units in the life of a modern State. In addition they are taken on visits to patriotic shrines and to points of scenic beauty. It is almost impossible to go on a trip anywhere in Japan at any time of the year without meeting groups of school children under the supervision of one or more teachers who are having their curiosity satisfied and their love of their own country stimulated by excursions to points of scenic or historical interest. This is one feature of the Japanese educational system that is almost wholly admirable in its results. Every student is expected to go on at least one such trip each year and as his age increases so too the distance travelled on excursions annually expands. Travelling together, school children on such excursions are granted very low rates on the railways and at Japanese inns which cater for this trade. The Japanese Government Railways facilitate this admirable scheme by permitting school parties to travel cheaply. It is indeed doubtful whether any students in the world enjoy such extensive travel facilities as do the Japanese.

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES AND INADEQUATE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROVISIONS

But the financial problem which has always handicapped the Japanese Department of Education is again apparent in the number of pupils often found in a single class. During comparatively recent years the regulations forbade ordinary elementary school classes to exceed seventy in number and higher elementary school classes to exceed sixty. These numbers were recognized as being far too large. However, the expense, and in earlier times, the lack of sufficient teachers made any reduction difficult. From the figures given in the following table it will be seen that conditions now are considerably better, even in the ordinary elementary

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schools organized by the cities, towns and villages :

II

	No. of Schools	Teachers	Children	No. of Teachers per School	No. of Pupils per Teacher.
City, Town and Village Elementary Schools (1933-34)	25,596	244,729	11,006,194	9.56	44.97
Private Elementary Schools (,,)	102	900	26,739	8.82	29.7
Elementary Schools attached to Government Higher Normal Schools for Men & Higher Normal Schools for Women (,,)	4	94	2,345	23.50	24.94
TOTAL	25,702	245,723	11,035,278	9.52	44.86

TABLE OF HOURS AND STANDARD OF INSTRUCTION

H. W.=No. of hours of week

Subjects	H. W.	First Year	H. W.	Second Year	H. W.	Third Year
Morals	2	Essentials.	2	Essentials.	2	Essentials.
(Japanese) Language	10	Pronunciation. The <i>Kana</i> and easy sentences; reading, writing and composition. Conversation.	12	<i>Kana</i> , Chinese characters most necessary in daily use and easy sentences; reading, writing and composition. Conversation.	15	Chinese characters most necessary in daily use and easy sentences; reading, writing and composition. Conversation.
Arithmetic	5	Counting; numeration and notation; addition, subtraction, multiplication and division; with numbers less than 20.	6	The same, with numbers less than 100.	6	Ordinary addition, subtraction, multiplication and division.
Japanese History		—		—		—
Geography		—		—		—
Science		—		—		—
Gymnastics	4	Games	4	Games. Common Gymnastics.	4	Games. Common Gymnastics.
Drawing	—	—	—	Simple forms	—	Simple objects.
Singing	—	Easy singing	—	The same, contd.	—	The same, contd.
Sewing	—	—	—	Management of needle. Sewing of ordinary pieces of clothing.	—	Sewing of ordinary pieces of clothing.
Manual Work	—	Simple work	—	The same, contd.	—	The same, contd.
Total	21		24		27	

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 IN THE ORDINARY ELEMENTARY COURSE

(See *Kikuchi*, p. 117.)

	H. W.	Fourth Year	H. W.	Fifth Year	H. W.	Sixth Year
	2	Essentials.	2	Essentials.	2	Essentials.
	15	The same, continued.	9	The same, continued.	9	The same, continued.
	6	The same, continued; decimals, their numeration, rotation, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. (Abacus arithmetic: addition and subtraction).	4	The same, continued; calculation of integers, decimals and fractions. Abacus calculations contd.	4	Proportions, percentages. Abacus calculation continued.
	—	—	2	Outline.	2	The same, continued.
	—	—	2	Outline of Japanese Geography.		The same and geography of Manchoukuo and foreign countries.
	4	Games. Common Gymnastics.	3	The same.	3	The same.
	—	The same, contd.	2	(Boys) The (Girls) same.	2	(Boys) The (Girls) same.
	—	The same, contd.	1	The same, contd.	2	The same.
	—	The same, contd.	2			
	—	The same, contd.	—	The same, contd.	—	The same, contd.
	27		28 27	(Boys) (Girls)	24 23	(Boys) (Girls)

LESSON HOURS

ORDINARY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Detailed Regulations for the Operation of the Elementary School Act, Department of Education Ordinance No. 14, dated August 20, 1900, as revised up to October, 1933.

Art. 17: The number of hours and standard of lessons in the ordinary elementary schools shall be as the Table No. 4.

TABLE No. 4

Curriculum	Hours of lessons per week					
	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year	Sixth Year
National Language	10	12	12	12	9	9
Morals	2	2	2	2	2	2
Arithmetic	5	5	6	6	4	4
National History	—	—	—	—	2	2
Geography	—	—	—	—	2	2
Science	—	—	—	2	2	2
Drawing	—	—	1	1 (Boys (Girls	2 1	2
Singing	—	—	1	1	2	2
Gymnastics	4	4	3	3	3	3
Sewing	—	—	—	2	3	5
Manual Training	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total hours	21	23	25 (Boys (Girls	27 29	28 30	28 30

N.B. Lesson in drawing may be given one hour every week in the first and second year.

Lesson in manual training may be given one hour in the first, second and third year, and two hours in the fourth, fifth and sixth year every week.

When the lesson in manual training is given, or lesson in drawing is given in the first and second year, the hours of other lessons shall be reduced.

HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (I)

Art. 18: The number of hours and standard of lessons in the higher elementary schools shall be as the Table 5 or Table 6.

TABLE No. 5

Curriculum	Hours of lessons per week	
	First Year	Second Year
Morals	2	2
National Language	6	6
Arithmetic	4	4
National History	2	2
Geography	Outline of World Geography 2	Supplementary lesson 2
Science	Outline of Botany, Zoology,) Mineralogy,) Physics & Chemistry) 2	Outline of Physics, Chemistry,) Physiology & Hygiene) 2
Drawing	1	1
Manual Training	1	1
Song	1	1
Gymnastics	3	3
Business	Outline of Agriculture,) Boys 5 Industry,) Girls 2	Boys 5 Girls 2
Domestic Science & Sewing	4	4
Total	Boys 29 Girls 30	Boys 29 Girls 30

N.B. The hours of each lesson may be either increased or reduced, but the total hours of lessons each week must not exceed 32. However, actual practice may be given in addition to the above-mentioned hours.

TABLE No. 6

Curriculum	Hours of lessons per week		
	First Year	Second Year	Third Year
Morals	2	2	2
National Language	6	6	6
Arithmetic	4	4	4
National History	2	2	2
Geography	2	2	2
Science	2	2	2
Drawing	1	1	1
Manual Training	1	1	1
Song	1	1	1
Gymnastics			
Business (Boys)	3	3	3
(Girls)	5	5	6
Domestic Science & Sewing	2	2	2
	4	4	5
Total (Boys)	29	29	30
(Girls)	30	30	31

N.B. The hours of each lesson may be either increased or reduced, but the total hours of lessons each week must not exceed 32.

Actual practice may be given in addition to the above-mentioned hour.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MIDDLE SCHOOLS

I. COURSES OF STUDY AND STATISTICS

MALE students from the elementary schools who wish to continue their studies and who are financially able to do so, have the following choice before them. They may enter technical schools, technical continuation schools, or middle schools. (In some cases they may enter the middle school course offered by a higher school or university). In addition to the financial difficulty, such students are faced with the serious problem of gaining admission to these schools through the competitive examinations. As was pointed out in Chapter VI, the number of candidates for admission to advanced schools is always greatly in excess of the number admitted. In the year 1928-29 for example the figures were as follows :

		Per cent. admitted.
Applicants for admission to middle schools	138,632	
Admitted	81,792	59%
Applicants for admission to technical schools	181,650	
Admitted	97,635	54%

It will thereby be seen that hardly more than one half of the students who wish, and who are financially able to continue their studies beyond the elementary schools are permitted to do so.

The object of the middle schools is "to give the male pupils a good general education of a rather high standard and to foster the spirit of national morality".⁽¹⁾ These

(1) *Fifty-Sixth Annual Report.* p. 134.

schools may be established by the government, by public bodies or by private individuals, and in the year 1929 those actually in operation may be divided into the following categories :

Type of School	No. of Schools.	No. of Teachers.	No. of Pupils.
Government Middle Schools...	2	2	952
Public Middle Schools	432	10,649	277,579
Private Middle Schools	112	2,671	65,178

The ordinary middle school course extends over five years, and the usual age of the students is from 13 to 18. In some cases a supplementary course of one year is offered. The subjects taught and the hours per week allotted to each are shown in the following table :—

Curriculum	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year
Morals.....	1	1	1	1	1
Civics	—	—	—	2	2
National Language & Chinese Classics.....	7	6	6	7-9	7-9
History & Geography.	3	3	3	3	3
Foreign Languages ...	5	5	6	2-7	2-7
Mathematics	3	3	3	2-4	2-5
Science	2	3	3	5-8	5-8
Drawing	1	1	1	1-2	1-2
Singing	1	1	1	1-2	1-2
Business Methods	—	—	—	3-5	3-5
Practice in work.....	2	2	1	1	1
Gymnastics.....	5	5	5	5	5
Total Hours	30	30	32	30-35	30-35

As will be observed, a considerable freedom in the apportionment of time is permitted in the 4th and 5th years, but in neither year must the total number of hours per week be less than 30 or exceed 35.

The following summary outlines very briefly the type of instruction given in each of the subjects in the middle school curriculum. In most of the middle schools the number of students in each class averages over forty and in very many schools over 50. The difficulty of teaching an uncongenial subject such as English to a class of that size

is immediately obvious. Other subjects suffer only in a slightly lower degree. Among these, Chinese classics wherever taught appear to be the most unpopular.

Japanese critics of the national educational system tried to concentrate their attacks with increasing agreement upon middle schools and to a lesser extent upon the girls' high schools. The burden of the attack upon the middle schools is the charge that the curriculum is designed to prepare the students for further study rather than for the ordinary problems of life with the result that when, as is the case, approximately 80% find themselves unable to go on to higher schools they are left high and dry, so to speak, without adequate training as judged by society. Being designed, moreover, essentially as preparatory schools, the middle schools exaggerate and emphasize in an altogether unhealthy way the importance of examinations. On this subject a particularly friendly foreign critic has written :

" What then is the cause of this failure of middle school education ? It is not as I have said the fault of the student, for he works well. I won't say there are not lazy boys, for of course there are, but were I a headmaster, I feel sure that my energies would be exerted rather to prevent overwork than to stimulate the students to increased activity. Neither is it the staff who, as a whole, seem to me to be deserving of every praise. They are conscientious and hardworking, if perhaps somewhat lacking in originality. If it is not the fault either of the boys or their masters some other explanation must be sought. As everyone knows, a middle school is divided into five years and these five years into as many different classes as may be necessary according to the number of the boys, but those classes are not graded, and all the boys do exactly the same lessons and use the same textbooks. Study carefully the five time tables and one at any rate of the causes of failure will be apparent. In the first place, the curriculum is heavily overburdened, and in the second, there is no elasticity. Every boy is obliged to learn exactly the same thing for the same number of hours, and moreover the curriculum of a middle school in a large city differs but little, if at all from that of one in a country district.

Of the 33 or 34 periods a week, the Japanese boy has to de-

vote 6 or over 1/6 of his school hours to the study of English and, as I have already pointed out, it is impossible to teach a class of over 50 a foreign language and, therefore these 6 periods, except as brain exercise, may be regarded as 6 periods wasted, leaving only 27 or 28 periods, and in these 27 or 28 periods many subjects to be attempted. Is it any wonder that after 5 years he has learnt next to nothing and is ignorant of his own language, his own history and his own geography? What is the reason for this overloaded curriculum? It is because a middle school is not a separate unit, not an end to itself, but merely one portion and not even the most important portion of a regular procession of schools. To some extent, at any rate, though not enough, I hope, sufficiently to impair its usefulness, a primary school is regarded as a preparation for a middle school, but at a middle school everything is subordinated to making it a passage to a High School, and a High School is a mere preparation or rather cramming ground for a University. Nothing matters so long as students can be crammed up with sufficient temporary superficial knowledge to enable them to enter the next higher grade of school. Even if money be poured out in streams, the middle school can never be made efficient until graduation from it is regarded as the final goal of the vast majority, and it is freed from the intolerable burden of the High School and University entrance examination. Freed from this, it would at once be possible to cut down very materially the number of obligatory subjects and concentrate on turning out graduates with a reasonable knowledge of their own language and country, graduates who would make useful citizens and be welcomed by managers of companies, etc. Above all, students would be taught to learn, not taught to cram; the real benefit to be gained from school life is the power to teach oneself.

It must be borne in mind that with an efficient middle school the graduate, though lacking in special and technical qualifications, would be well qualified for all ordinary work, and he could, if need be, spend a year acquiring English or some other accomplishment necessary to obtain some particular employment.

No Government department, no big firm, no banker will so much as look at a middle school graduate, and, regrettable as it is, I must own, I do not think that they can be blamed, for the average middle school graduate knows little; he has been crammed with superficial knowledge for the purpose of

passing an examination into a higher school.

Actually, after five years of labour, and the average Japanese boy works and tries far harder than his English brother, he is less well equipped for life than he was when he left his primary school. This sounds an extreme statement, but I honestly believe it to be true, for he has forgotten much of what he learned, and really assimilated, at his primary school and put nothing in its place that has not passed completely out of his mind six months after his graduation."

The critics propose that the middle schools should offer two courses; one for those who propose to go on to the higher schools and universities, and the other for those who intend to enter the business world immediately on leaving the middle school. The difficulty with this proposal is that most middle school students wish to continue their studies, and are only hindered from doing so by the lack of accommodation in the higher institutions in general, and the inability of the higher schools to accept more than .077 of middle school graduates. It is not until the final examination results are published that the student can tell whether or not he will be permitted to continue. The division of the school curriculum into two courses would therefore not offer the ideally satisfactory solution of the general problem that some imagine. What is obviously required is a course of study which, while admirable in itself, would also prove useful as a preparation for further academic study. What subjects should be set in each course is a problem that is engaging a great deal of attention in Japan. It is a problem which will have to be solved more satisfactorily than at present if the current criticism and dissatisfaction are to end.

There can be no doubt that the middle school course, with the strain which necessarily comes from a realization of the tremendous premium placed upon success in the final examination, is too great a task for many of the students. The words of Marquis Okuma commenting upon Japanese education in general are particularly applicable to the students in the middle schools :

" Japanese students today are attempting to do what

is only possible to the strongest and cleverest of them, that is to say, two or three in every hundred. They are trying to learn their own language, which is in reality two languages, blended or confused the one with the other according to the point of view, while attempting to learn English and German, and in addition studying technical subjects like law, medicine, engineering or science."⁽¹⁾

After the student enters the university the competition continues, but the worst of his problems are over. Very few university students fail, as graduation itself will generally be sufficient to assure him success in finding a post in official or business life. (This is not as true now as it used to be, though it is still generally accurate. At worst the student can always enter a normal school and after a brief training find a teaching appointment). But in the middle schools the student is just starting on the steepest incline of the rocky pathway to educational success. Having left the elementary school he feels it incumbent to strive for academic success. To this end he is pushed on by his family and friends. The chances are heavily against him; it will not do merely to pass the examinations; he must pass among the highest or his possible career is ended. For boys just entering adolescence the responsibility and the strain are often far too severe. In probably the majority of cases the student realizes that his parents have made tremendous sacrifices to give him this opportunity, and that their hopes for the future of the family (a very serious consideration in Japan) are largely centred in him. His success must justify their confidence and their sacrifice. It is impossible to withhold admiration for the spirit with which the average Japanese boy tackles his problem. But it is a problem with which he ought not to be asked to solve at the age. As proof of this it may be added that many give way under the strain and not a few commit suicide in despair.

(1) *Quoted in Brown op. cit. p. 113.*

MILITARY TRAINING

In the middle school the Japanese student undergoes for the first time fully organized military training. It is true that in some elementary schools a particularly enthusiastic teacher or principal may give the youths under his care some semi-military drill but such spontaneous activities are unimportant in scope and are done without the cooperation of the military authorities. In the middle schools, however, the whole thing is on a different and more definite basis. Here the War Department provides officer instructors and the training which occupies five hours a week is of a regular and serious nature. The instruction includes not only squad drill and military evolutions but target practice, bayonet-fighting and the use of hand grenades and other implements of modern warfare. In addition, the students are given lectures on such subjects as are best suited to stimulate their martial and patriotic ardour.

This is not the place to discuss military training in schools, or its propriety on either national, moral or intellectual grounds. The arguments on that subject have been very fully set forth in recent years in almost every modern state except Japan. But in Japan the arguments against such training would not, even with the educational authorities, and much less with other official agencies, receive very serious consideration. There is very little opposition anywhere in Japan to the general belief that it is the unquestioning duty of the subject to respond, in arms if necessary, to the call of his country, though from observations and inquiries in the schools, students are as happy to evade or be excused conscription as in the average country where military service is compulsory. It is therefore the duty of the military and educational authorities to see that at a suitable age the student is given the instruction which will prepare him for any national emergency which may demand military service of him. This Japanese attitude is based on the fundamental assumption, to which very few Japanese would hesitate to subscribe, that warfare if not inevitable is at least

and who actively begrudges the time that, if he is unlucky enough to be among those conscripted, must be spent in the barracks.⁽¹⁾ For this reason, if for no other, the average middle school student would be expected to do his military drill without complaint. One aspect of the conscription of students seems unfair, and with a little adjustment could be avoided. This is conscription within a year of their completing their school course. At the higher normal school, for example, the student is frequently conscripted in his final year and then, after completing a year's training in barracks or elsewhere, he is obliged to return to complete his course along with his juniors. In the French Schools they arrange things better and a student is excused military service until he has completed his school course.

II. THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH.⁽²⁾

In the Middle School begins the study of foreign languages, and in nine cases out of ten in modern Japan that means the study of English.

It will be recalled that in the early contacts between Japan and the West it was the people of the Netherlands and the Dutch language that first stimulated the enthusiasm of the ambitious students of Japan. Following the Restoration in 1868, and in obedience to the Imperial edict and in consonance with their own ambitions, Japanese students began "seeking knowledge throughout the world." In order to facilitate this search a knowledge of western languages became imperative. Promising Japanese students were sent abroad and experts in all phases of Western life were brought to Japan. In the ferment and enthusiasm of those early days it seemed of these foreign tongues would prove the avenue to personal success and enable him to contribute his quota to the national welfare, and incidentally

(1) All Japanese youths are called up for examination and military training at the age of 20 but only a small percentage of the total number is actually enlisted each year.

(2) An instructive discussion of this subject is contained in "*Overseas Education*" for January, 1935, by Mr. H. Vere Redman.

his own, too.

It was very quickly recognized that the Dutch language was not of primary importance, but that wider contacts could be made through a knowledge of French, German or English. Of these French never succeeded in gaining popular favour, and the study of German tended to be restricted to students of medicine, military affairs and certain of the sciences. English very quickly became recognized as the one tongue which would most quickly open the door to form contacts of commercial, legal, political and social value. This was due (a) to the prestige of English political and legal institutions, (b) the widespread tentacles of English commerce, and (c) the exceptional influence played by the United States of America in the early days of Japanese relations with foreign states.

English soon became therefore the most important of the foreign languages in the educational system of Japan, a place which it has consistently held. In the early years of this period the teaching was done almost exclusively by the members of four groups. There were *first* the Japanese who had been abroad and returned with a more or less adequate knowledge of the English language. Next there were also the technical experts brought to Japan to instruct the Japanese in special branches of foreign learning, and who found it necessary to begin their instruction by teaching the rudiments of their language to their ambitious students. As practically all the textbooks used were in English the need of acquiring the necessary knowledge of that tongue was more than ever impressed upon students. The *third* group consisted of a great variety of English and Americans who came to Japan on their own initiative and who at that time found greater returns in the teaching of their own tongue than in any other field that was open to them. Many of these men had neither training nor experience as teachers, and in no a few cases were far from proficient themselves in their mother-tongue. The *fourth* group was that of the missionaries, who in many cases established schools as a means of getting in touch with the youth of Japan.

This combination of English textbooks, of English and American teachers and of enthusiasm for the study of the language on the part of the students resulted in a wide dissemination of the knowledge of English in spite of the frequent inefficiency of certain among the teachers.

The results of this rather indiscriminate system were more satisfactory than might have been expected, as is often so when students are really keen to learn. It is to this generation of students that many of the prominent political and commercial leaders of modern Japan belong, and it is probable that their generation is able to make more direct contact with the people of England and America than will be the case with those who succeed them. In commenting on the success of those early teachers Mr. Redman writes as follows :

“ The reasons for these results are not far to seek. They were inherent in the situation. In the peculiar circumstances, students were learning in English and through English, but never about English, while the teachers were employing unconsciously and *par la force des choses* the methods which modern linguistic pedagogues now advocate as those by which the best results may be obtained. The early English-speaking teachers of English in Japan were direct-methodists without method, and succeeded in doing unintentionally what teachers to-day find difficulty in doing in spite of constant, sustained, scientific effort.

In reviewing the satisfactory results obtained in the first period of English study in Japan, it would be erroneous to state that the mainly fortuitous circumstances of the presence of a large body of English-speaking teachers, ignorant of Japanese, and using English text-books for the teaching of Western knowledge, were alone responsible for what was achieved. There was in addition what is sometimes called the ‘Meiji spirit’ which was a mental attitude shared by the majority of the educated Japanese. The period known as the ‘Meiji Era’ from 1868 to 1912 was the period in which the Japanese were fundamentally convinced that they had everything to learn from the West, and they learnt English in the same spirit as Europeans in the Renaissance learnt Latin.”

By the end of the Meiji Era Japan was firmly established as a modern State, and many of the Japanese were beginning to feel that there was little more that they could learn

from their Western instructors. The influence of this fact on education became gradually more apparent. The number of technical advisers from abroad was gradually reduced and their places taken by technically competent Japanese. Thus the Japanese student of the sciences was no longer in contact with an English-speaking instructor, and in many cases a new Japanese textbook or at least a Japanese translation of a foreign textbook was available for his study. In order to offset the rapid decline in the knowledge of English that would have immediately resulted, the Japanese educational authorities increased the number of British or American language teachers. In each higher school at least one such teacher was appointed, and in some cases they were also to be found in the middle schools. But this increase in the number of foreign teachers was more than offset by the decreasing enthusiasm of the students who no longer felt it to be imperative that they should learn the English language. Ironically enough, moreover, as the standard of English teaching improved and the study of the language became systematized, the tendency to emphasize the outline of grammar and syntax gradually interfered with the spontaneous absorption of knowledge which had accrued through the several channels that had been opened to the earlier students.

"As language teachers the world over know only too well, when a language becomes a subject, the tendency is to learn about it, and above all to learn about it in relation to some other language, usually the student's own. This is what happened in Japan in the years following the Meiji *elan*. For this, no fair-minded person could possibly blame the Japanese. The Japanese language teachers improved their technique with a wholly laudable industry on the most approved Western lines, and the results were no worse, possibly even a little better, when we consider the difficulties involved, than those of, say, the teaching of French in Great Britain in a similar period. However, Japanese language teachers could not fail to realize that the results, such as they were, compared very unfavourably with the English knowledge in the Meiji era.

In an effort to overcome their increasing difficulties the

teachers of English in Japan established the Institute for Research in English Teaching. This organization was founded to investigate the possibility of improving the technique of English teaching throughout the country in order that students might learn in a natural way as had been done in the Meiji Era. The Institute was recognized, housed and assisted by the Monbusho, and it has since undertaken such activities as teacher-training, textbook planning, lexicographical research and the publication of a monthly bulletin on English teaching problems in Japan. It also holds an annual conference. In spite of these efforts, however, there has been little improvement in recent years, particularly in the middle schools, where the majority of the Japanese teachers of English are themselves only slightly acquainted with the English, and where the results have been deplorable. One competent observer has estimated that at least 70% of the boys graduating from middle schools may be said to know for practical purposes almost no English, and if they do not proceed to a higher school they rapidly forget what little they have acquired during their three years' study of English in the middle schools. It would thus seem that the curriculum in general would lose very little by dropping the present rather extended, costly, and exceedingly inefficient study of the subject.

The graduate from the middle schools who is physically and financially able to continue his education may apply for admission to the higher schools, to special schools or special technical schools, to the preparatory course offered by some universities and finally to the normal schools. In a typical year the graduates of the middle schools divide approximately as follows :

No further day school education .....	.473
Higher Schools and Preparatory Course of University .....	.077
Government and Public Special Schools and their equivalent .....	.079
Private Special Schools and their equivalent .....	.095
Army and Navy Schools .....	.008
Civil Service .....	.040
Teachers .....	.017
Business Careers .....	.208
Died .....	.002
Others .....	.001

THE NUMBER OF THOSE WHO ENTERED HIGHER SCHOOLS
(GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC AND

	Those who entered Higher Schools and Preparatory Course of University	Those who entered Gov. and Public Special Schools and those equivalent to the above	Those who entered Private Special Schools and those equivalent to the above	Those who entered Army and Navy Schools	Those who became officials in Government Offices
Hokkaido	132	189	87	8	149
Aomori	32	20	36	3	45
Iwate	27	36	34	2	36
Miyagi	90	89	131	7	57
Akita	15	47	62	2	34
Yamagata	31	76	56	4	53
Fuji	44	85	78	12	65
Ibaragi	58	46	68	9	46
Tochigi	37	44	65	12	62
Gunma	22	57	56	9	33
Saitama	52	48	56	10	20
Chiba	41	56	93	8	30
Tokyo	1,217	372	1,073	53	133
Kanagawa	134	144	187	15	56
Niigata	59	87	96	14	31
Toyama	34	78	60	3	50
Ishikawa	39	66	63	4	25
Fukui	46	38	24	—	26
Yamanashi	18	39	42	2	31
Nagano	73	95	92	10	60
Gifu	39	81	60	4	39
Shizuoka	104	109	106	7	42
Aichi	136	236	179	11	77
Mie	43	80	72	4	36
Shiga	32	54	47	5	12
Kyoto	148	114	174	12	34
Osaka	358	274	264	5	48
Hyogo	266	252	246	11	57
Nara	46	34	70	3	20
Wakayama	42	51	56	1	24
Tottori	37	37	25	6	43
Shimane	29	14	47	—	25
Okayama	62	99	112	15	25
Hiroshima	140	180	198	19	110
Yamaguchi	73	126	99	11	47
Tokushima	23	68	44	6	16
Kagawa	56	88	70	4	24
Ehime	48	54	101	8	12
Kochi	25	17	26	14	12
Fukuoka	191	277	316	35	131
Saga	45	53	79	11	27
Nagasaki	50	92	96	10	40
Kumamoto	45	101	82	24	73
Oita	33	90	96	14	46
Miyazaki	9	24	23	8	16
Kagoshima	76	105	167	32	57
Okinawa	2	12	23	1	13
Grand Total	4,359	4,434	5,330	468	2,148

FROM AMONG THE GRADUATES FROM THE MIDDLE SCHOOLS
PRIVATE, in 1935).

	Those who became teachers	Those who entered business world	Those who died	Others	Total
Hokkaido	69	361	5	1,022	2,022
Aomori	11	218	3	193	561
Iwate	5	195	—	174	507
Miyagi	19	284	2	419	1,098
Akita	3	147	—	250	560
Yamagata	3	111	1	414	749
Fukushima	13	368	4	512	1,181
Ibaraki	339	14	1	431	1,012
Tochigi	4	416	1	327	968
Gunma	9	302	1	265	757
Saitama	9	227	—	375	797
Chiba	8	505	2	577	1,320
Tokyo	6	360	9	2,850	6,073
Kanagawa	5	290	6	781	1,618
Niigata	33	292	4	684	1,294
Toyama	5	258	2	255	745
Ishikawa	15	157	26	348	743
Fukui	13	188	33	196	564
Yamanashi	13	117	1	201	453
Nagano	25	487	1	732	1,594
Gifu	11	172	—	376	782
Shizuoka	17	249	1	638	1,273
Aichi	45	434	5	1,095	2,128
Mie	9	171	1	422	838
Shiga	—	91	—	143	384
Kyoto	5	213	2	800	1,502
Osaka	60	414	7	1,165	2,595
Hyogo	29	517	5	1,221	2,604
Nara	—	231	1	306	711
Wakayama	40	245	2	383	844
Tottori	1	168	1	224	542
Shimane	1	98	2	323	539
Okayama	17	253	—	542	1,129
Hiroshima	9	331	3	877	1,867
Yamaguchi	11	189	1	626	1,183
Tokushima	5	261	—	292	715
Kagawa	2	124	1	319	688
Ehime	21	120	1	533	898
Kochi	9	57	—	227	387
Fukuoka	14	852	10	1,548	3,374
Saga	7	126	2	504	854
Nagasaki	33	227	4	572	1,124
Kumamoto	11	222	2	608	1,168
Oita	2	292	—	456	1,029
Miyazaki	10	146	1	292	529
Kagoshima	13	163	3	848	1,464
Okinawa	—	51	1	251	354
Grand Total	976	11,714	158	26,620	56,111

CHAPTER VIII

HIGHER SCHOOLS

The majority of the students who complete their middle school course are desirous of continuing their studies at the higher schools and eventually enter a university. In order to do this they must decide whether or not to try for admission to an Imperial university, for if this be their aim they must attend one or other of the comparatively few higher schools whose graduates are admitted by the Imperial universities. The Imperial universities justify their action in refusing to accept students from any but approved higher schools on the grounds that the standard in the different higher schools varies to such a degree that any other course would result in the admission of many unqualified students. As a result any middle school graduate who fails to be admitted to one of the recognized higher schools which serve as nurseries to the Imperial Universities must attend either a public or private university. While in some rare cases this is no great handicap (to those who gain admission to Keio Univetsity or Waseda University, for example), to the great majority it means that there will certainly be no easy road to success, and in normal times not even a reasonable assurance of lucrative employment, for the civil service as well as the great commercial houses and professional offices in many cases will accept only students from the Imperial universities. It may indeed be taken as an axiom that certain key posts in the civil service and teaching are barred to any other than graduates of the Imperial universities, which is a cause of considerable discontent among first-class graduates of the private universities. Thus the pressure on the middle

school student when he comes to take his final examination is double—he must not only do well enough to be in the .077 who are able to gain admission to *some* higher schools, but he must strive to be among the upper 4% who are accepted by one of the higher schools with Imperial university recognition. The realization therefore of what it may mean for his whole life comes to depend upon the outcome of a single examination taken at the age of approximately 18. This is something that few students of the West can appreciate to the degree that it is felt by the Japanese middle school boys. The result is an intensive effort designed primarily and indeed almost exclusively to memorizing notes that will help the candidate to win success in the examinations. The effect of this prodigious effort upon the physical and nervous system cannot fail to be detrimental; the likelihood of warping the student's attitude towards life a serious danger, and the educational value probably nil. Yet, given the limited accommodation offered by the higher schools and universities and the national ambition for education, some restriction of numbers is imperative and up to the present no more satisfactory method has been evolved than that offered by the competitive examination. Until increased facilities for higher education are provided this drain upon the nervous and physical energy of the most intelligent youth of the country will presumably continue to the national and individual detriment. Yet, to provide still more high schools and universities would probably aggravate quite seriously Japan's social problem, as there are already too many unemployed university graduates among the white-collared salarymen today.

The Japanese higher schools are for men only and the average age on entrance is 18-19. The majority of the higher schools offer a preparatory course (which is essentially the same as that of the middle schools) and a higher or regular course of three years which is designed according to the official statement "for the purpose of completing higher general education . . . and of fostering the spirit of national morality." It is also of course designed in ninety

cases out of a hundred to prepare the students to take examinations which will admit them to the universities and not to prepare them for life's demands.

In 1894 an effort was made to convert the higher schools into institutions designed for the purpose of giving a form of education that would be fairly complete in itself. A course in law was added in the Third Higher School in Kyoto, and a course in engineering in Fifth Higher School Kumamoto, but the experiment proved a failure. The students would have none of it: they realized that the real rewards were reserved for the graduates of the universities and so to that goal they directed all their efforts. Very soon the higher schools in practice if not in theory reverted to their present status of preparatory schools for the universities. The following table justifies this generalization.

Students in the Tokyo Imperial University.....	1,858
Students in the Kyoto Imperial University.....	1,146
Students in the Tohoku Imperial University.....	341
Students in the Kyushu Imperial University.....	349
Students in the Hokkaido Imperial University...	7
Students in the Government Universities.....	247
Students in the public or private Universities.....	51
Students in the Universities in the colonies.....	7
Pupils in other schools	6
Those engaged in business	3
Reserve officer cadets	2
Government or school officials.....	5
Those who were studying by themselves.....	656
Those whose conditions were unknown.....	200
Those who died	5
 Total	 4,883

The following table illustrates statistically the higher school activities at the time of the last report (1933) of the Department of Education:

Admission to the higher schools is confined (a) to those who are graduates of the preparatory (middle school) course of the higher school to which application is made, (b) to those who have completed the fourth year of the

Schools	No. of schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils in 3 yr course	No. of applicants for 3 yr course	No. admitted
Government Higher Schools (3 year course only)	25	1,060	15,368	29,071	4,951
Government Higher Schools. Preparatory courses and 3 year course.	1	64	471	—	—
Public Higher Schools both courses	3	89	1,320	1,782	420
Private Higher Schools (both courses).	4	130	1,065	744	334

middle school course or (c) to those who in the opinion of the Minister of Education have equivalent attainments, and (d) to those who have passed the examination giving them equal standing with those who have qualified for entrance to the higher technical school. These, of course, the higher school select from the qualified applicants, very few for whom they have accommodation.

Admission to a higher school exempts the student from military training until his 28th year, when he can volunteer to do one year's service in lieu of the usual period of two years.

The course of study in the higher schools depends upon the ultimate objective of the students. In general it is divided into a literature course and a science course, although some modifications are allowed under special circumstances. In each course two foreign languages are studied by the majority of the students, although only one is compulsory. Those who do not take the second language must substitute some other subject.

Although a great deal of stress is laid upon foreign languages (usually English and either French or German, with Latin being allowed optionally for those who intend to study law) the standards attained are not in general considered satisfactory. There is a good deal of thought being given to this subject and a growing tendency to advise students to specialize in one foreign language and attempt to gain a sound knowledge in that rather than a smattering

of two.

The subjects and hours of study per week in the Literature course are as follows :

Curriculum	First Year	Second Year	Third Year
Morals	1	1	1
National Language & Chinese Classics.....	6	5	5
First Foreign Language	9	8	8
Second Foreign Language	(4)	(4)	(4)
History	3	5	4
Geography	2	—	—
Outline of Philosophy	—	—	3
Psychology & Logic	—	2	2
Legislation & Economics	—	2	2
Mathematics	3	—	—
Natural science	2	3	—
Gymnastics.....	3	3	3
 Total	 29 (33)	 29 (33)	 28 (32)

In the science course the emphasis is shifted somewhat, as will be seen from the following schedule :

Curriculum	First Year.	Second Year.	Third Year.
Morals.....	1	1	1
National Language & Chinese Classics	4	2	—
First Foreign Language	8	6	6
Second Foreign Language ...	(4)	(4)	(4)
Mathematics	4	4	4 & (2)
Physics	—	3	5
Chemistry	—	3	5
Botany & Zoology	2	2	4
Mineralogy & Geology	2	—	—
Psychology	—	2	—
Legislation & Economics ...	2	—	—
Drawing	2	2	(2)
Gymnastics	3	3	3
 TOTAL	 28 (32)	 28 (32)	 28 (32)

From an examination of this curriculum it will at once appear that Japanese students study certain subjects in the higher schools that are not generally taken up before the university among western nations. Psychology, logic, mineralogy, zoology, economics, are not in most countries to be found on the curriculum of any institutions below college rank. This, of course, does not mean that the Japa-

nese student matures more quickly than his western *confrère* for the age of admission to Japanese higher schools is approximately the same as for Western colleges. The Japanese academic career is however very much longer—a fact that is due to some extent at least to the difficulties of acquiring that elementary tool of instruction, the written languages.

Tuition fees of Government higher schools are ¥80.00 a year, although the private higher schools have no invariable rule on this subject, and some charge more than the government higher schools even up to ¥200.00. Here, as in all branches of Japanese education, many of the students whose families' fortunes would not permit them to attend high school, are assisted by wealthy benefactors who in many cases have had some feudal or historic connection with the family of the beneficiary. In Japan, as in Scotland, there are few charitable causes so quick to arouse sympathy as the impecunious youth fired with academic ambition.⁽¹⁾ Not all such aspirants can be sure of assistance, but benefactions of such a nature are not at all uncommon and may perhaps be said to be more frequently found in Japan than in almost any other country, with the exception of Scotland. In spite of this wide-spread generosity, however, the large majority of the students in the higher schools are sons of comparatively well-to-do families, their fathers being in most cases holding official or professional posts, landed farmers and business men.

Admission to the universities from the higher schools does not entail the bitter struggle that marked the progress from the middle school to the higher school except for the marginal students, though with university rejects presenting themselves again and again the university examinations are becoming harder. A far larger percentage of higher school graduates are able to obtain admission to the universities than is so with middle school students applying for admission to the higher schools. Almost all

(1) It is not without interest that Scotch seamen helped to smuggle a prominent group of Japanese students to England at the end of the Tokugawa Era.

the graduates of higher schools enter some university or other. Though the competition is so keen for the better universities, especially in Tokyo, since there are 45 universities in Japan and twenty-two in Tokyo alone, there is more than enough accommodation for all who wish to go to some university or other. It is this that causes on the one hand the lowering of university standards to attract students, and on the other not a little corruption to guarantee that they successfully graduate once they have been admitted. If it has been found necessary to limit the number of higher schools whose graduates are permitted to enter the Tokyo Imperial University, it is because the limited accommodation there could not possibly admit of even a small proportion of the candidates who would seek admission if all higher schools were permitted to send their students to the Tokyo Imperial University. This is because most Japanese students who wish to prosecute their studies to university standard (and there are few who do not), prefer to study in Tokyo where most of the best universities are. For this reason the Imperial Universities of Sendai, Sapporo (Hokkaido) and Taihoku (Formosa) will accept students even without entrance examination because of the relative dearth of candidates. It is also for this reason that the competition for entrance to the higher schools whose graduates are permitted to enter Tokyo Imperial University, is so keen, and why the standard of the Tokyo Imperial University is admittedly the highest in the country. But with this surplus of university graduates, who only tend to reduce the salaries because their supply is far greater than the demand for university-trained men, it is easy to see that parents are beginning to ask whether university education is worth while. Consequently, the middle school, commercial school or technical school graduate is becoming increasingly sure of a job in Japan as the university graduate's position becomes increasingly precarious on his trying to find a niche in society. University education for education sake in Japan is therefore largely a thing of the past.

CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL SCHOOLS AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

I. SPECIAL SCHOOLS

“Special Schools” is the title given in Japan to those institutions of secondary or advanced education which cannot be classified in any of the ordinary categories. The government special schools are primarily interested in offering courses in music, arts and languages, but the private special schools give instruction in many other fields, including law, medicine, chemistry, commerce, literature, domestic science and religion. The special schools number 102 and they are divided into seven government schools, seven public schools and eighty-eight private foundations. In addition, there are forty-four government, two public and five private special technical schools. These last-named will be discussed in the next section under technical schools:

The government special schools, with the number of their teachers and students are as follows :

	Professors and Instructors	Pupils	Graduates	Average Applicants for	Average Number admitted
Toyama Special School of Pharmacy	18	251	80	519	84
Kumamoto Special School of Pharmacy.	26	253	74	533	94
Tokyo Foreign Lan- guage School	85	852	286	1,249	529
Osaka Foreign Lan- guage School	62	721	216	2,158	434
Tokyo Fine Arts School	73	817	128	1,168	225
Tokyo Academy of Music	47	534	73	591	204
Training Institute for Meteorological Ex- perts	36	31	10	276	11

Except for the two Schools of Foreign Languages, in Tokyo and Osaka, these schools admit women as well as men, and they offer one of the few opportunities that women have to continue their education beyond the rather restricted courses of the girls' high schools. But in the special schools, as with all other institutions of advanced learning in Japan, the facilities provided are not nearly adequate to care for the number of students annually applying for admission. In the case of the government schools tabulated above only 24% of the applicants were admitted in the year 1928-29. The position is somewhat better in the public and private special schools, but even there only 46% of the applicants were admitted in the year 1928-29.

The government special schools of pharmacy give a course of general and advanced instruction extending over three years, and in special cases students are allowed to continue their studies for a further period of two years.

The Osaka Foreign Language School offers instruction in the following languages : English, French, German, Russian, Chinese, Spanish, Mongolian, Malay and Hindustani ; the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages offers, in addition to these languages, instruction in Portuguese, Siamese, Italian and Tamil. The regular course in the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages extends over four years, and in the Osaka School three years. A post-graduate course of two years is also offered. The following figures illustrate the popularity of the different languages in the combined schools :

Year 1928	Pupil	Applicants for admission	Admitted
English	230	918	74
Chinese	191	261	63
French	161	379	65
German	148	334	63
Spanish	118	210	54
Malay	95	121	45
Russian	89	229	52
Hindustani	63	23	18
Mongolian	34	44	24
Italian	13	0	0
Portuguese	12	0	0

The Tokyo School of Fine Arts is an admirably equipped institution situated in Ueno Park within the city and near the Imperial Museum and Library. It offers a complete training, by its foreign and native instructors, to those who desire to adopt an artistic career. There is also a special course for those who wish to become teachers of drawing in the middle schools, or institutions of similar grade. The professional courses are eight; Japanese painting, western-style painting, sculpture, architecture, engraving in metals, metal-casting, designing and lacquer-work. The school is open to graduates of middle schools, and the ordinary course is of five years. In a typical year the division of the 817 pupils was as follows: Japanese painting 91; western-style painting 226; sculpture 83; architecture 37; designing 68; engraving in metals 27; metal-casting 22; lacquer-work 18; training course, post-graduate students, etc. 245. It is generally felt that judged by western standards the work of the students in Japanese painting is of a finer quality than that of the students in sculpture, and that they later actually surpass the work of the European painters. Sculpture is but a comparatively recent innovation and has therefore very definite scope for improvement.

The Tokyo Academy of Music is designed not only for the study and teaching of native and foreign music, but also to prepare music teachers for public schools. There are two courses of study, the principal and the normal courses. The normal courses are divided into "A" normal course and "B" normal course. There are, besides, preparatory, post-graduate, and elective courses. The period of study extends from three to five years in the principal courses, three in the "A" normal course, and one in the "B" normal course; two in the preparatory course, from two to three in the post-graduate course, and five years in the elective course for one subject.

The subjects given in the different courses of study are as follows:

In the preparatory course: ethics, singing, music for solo instruments (piano, organ or violin) elements of music,

Japanese, foreign language (English or German) and gymnastics.

There are two departments in the principal course, vocal and instrumental. The subjects given in the vocal department are ethics, singing (solo and choral) piano, harmony, elemental forms of music, history of music, Japanese and foreign language (English or German) and gymnastics.

In the instrumental department : ethics, music for solo instruments (piano, organ, violin, viola, violoncello, contrabass, flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, bombardon, trombone, or trumpet) choral singing, instrumental music (chamber music and orchestral practice), harmony, elementary forms of music, history of music, Japanese, foreign language, (English or German) and gymnastics.

The post-graduate course is divided into three departments—the vocal, the instrumental, and the composition.

The Training Institute for Meteorological Experts offers a three-year course to regular students, and also a preparatory course of one year and an auxiliary course for those who are already engaged in meteorological work.

The public special schools are seven in number, of which four are schools of literature and domestic science, and one each of commerce, fine arts and literature and science.

There are 88 special schools established by private foundations. Grouping the public and private special schools, the following figures give a general view of the type and scope of the work done :—

During the year 1928-29 the total number of applicants for admission to these schools was 61,187, of whom 28,350 were permitted to enroll.

In the technical schools, as with most educational institutions in Japan, government supervision and inspection are exercised. All aspects of the school programme, whether relating to curriculum, student and faculty control or finance, are subject to governmental dictation, and must conform to official standards.

The following is the curriculum of the technical schools :—

		Male	Female	Total
Public	Commerce	759	—	759
	Literature	—	722	722
	Science	—	91	91
	Domestic Science	—	318	318
	Sewing	—	195	195
	Fine Arts.....	260	—	260
Private	Medicine.....	2,729(14)	1,457(11)	4,186(25)*
	Pharmacy	1,790	800	2,598
	Dental Surgery	X 1	—	X 1
	Law	3,126	616	3,742
	Economics	X 1	X 1	X 2
	Commerce	12,694	—	12,694
Private	Literature	8,911	3,862	12,773
	Mathematics & Science.....	X 54	X 4	X 58
	Domestic Science	1,508	25	1,533
	Sewing and Manual Arts....	X 2	—	X 2
	Religion	—	2,640	2,640
		2,079	56	2,135
		X 2	—	X 2

* Foreigners

Fifty-sixth Annual Report of Minister of Education—p. 321-2-3.

Private	Music	—	31	31
	Physical Training	119	141	260
	Agriculture	618	—	618
	Colonization	113	—	113
	Nursing	—	35	35
	Public	1,019	1,326	2,345
Totals	1928-29	45,218	12,702	57,820
	Private	X 455	X 16	X 471

(* Foreigners)

II. TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

Technical schools are established for the "purpose of imparting knowledge and art essential to those engaged in industry and of cultivating their moral characters".⁽¹⁾ In this category are included schools of agriculture, commerce, fisheries, and nautical science. Such schools of

(1) *Fifty Sixth Annual Report of the Minister of Education. Tokyo. 1934.—p. 331.*

higher grade are called "Special Technical Schools."

Students in technical schools must be above the age of twelve. If they are graduates of ordinary elementary schools their technical education covers from three to five years: if they are graduates of the higher elementary schools they attend the technical school from two to three years. There are also trade schools in which the course may be as brief as two years. Post-graduate courses are provided in some technical schools.

The 44 special technical schools now established are directly controlled by the Ministry of Education, 718 by local authorities, and 199 by private individuals or corporations. Here again, as in all other establishments of secondary and higher education in Japan, the applicants for admission far exceed the number that can be accepted. In the year under review (1928-1929) only 17% of the applicants were admitted to the government schools, 62% to the public schools, and 61% to the private institutions. These figures are not of course mutually exclusive. That is to say, many of those who applied for, but were refused admission to the government schools, later made application at the public or private schools, and are consequently included as the figure for them. But in any case not more than about 55% of those who applied for admission to the technical schools in the year 1928-29, were actually able to obtain admission.

The standards of instruction are generally very much higher in the government and public schools than in the private establishments. This may be illustrated by an examination of the ratio of instructors to pupils. In the private schools the average number of students per teacher is 71, a condition which, particularly in technical education, makes satisfactory work almost impossible. In the government and public schools the ratio is less than one to twenty. This in itself is sufficient to prove why students prefer the government and public schools, and why in turn employers of labour and the civil service give preference to graduates from the state and public schools.

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Technical continuation schools are designed to offer opportunities of further study to students who have left the elementary schools either after graduation or before the course has been completed. In general the applicants for admission to such schools are young people who are engaged in earning their living, so that most of the classes are held in the evening. The courses offered vary in length and standards, but in general may be said to be most elementary, although in some schools more advanced training is offered. Here again, however, the ratio of students to instructors is so high (66 to 1) that satisfactory work is difficult. The average course extends over two years, and the number of hours from 160 to 420 per annum. Technical training that is limited to (on an average) five hours per week and is acquired in a class of 66 students cannot of course offer more than the rudiments. Within their limitations, however, a serious effort is being made to provide additional training for young people who would otherwise be entirely outside the educational system.

The figures for the technical continuation schools are:—

	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils	Admitted
Public	15,256	17,556	1,177,670	625,888
Private	37	240	3,525	2,160
Total	15,293	17,796	1,181,195	628,048

In some of the technical continuation schools students are offered in addition to the elementary instruction in technical and vocational subjects, training in commercial practice, civics, and occasionally in foreign languages. Tuition fees are charged and range from fifty sen to two yen per month, which is very low and within the means of the masses.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

The following table shows the number of teachers, pupils, graduates, applicants for admission, and those admitted, together with the annual comparative statistics

relating to the two schools of foreign languages:—

	No. of Teachers					Pupils.	Graduates	Applicants for Admission	Those admitted
	Professors	Assistant Professors	Lecturers	Foreign Instructors	Total				
Tokyo School of Foreign Languages ...	30	8	30	15	83	866	126	1,222	520
Osaka Foreign Language School	18	6	16	16	56	716	216	2,019	455
Total	48	14	46	31	139	1,582	342	3,241	975
1928-29.....	45	14	56	32	147	1,573	502	3,407	963
1927-28.....	45	12	51	31	139	1,617	564	3,567	1,097
1926-27.....	44	12	47	31	134	* 1,714	593	3,821	1,116
1925-26.....	45	10	45	30	130	* 1,694	4	4,406	1,228
						21	13	7	* 35

* Women

The students of the post-graduate course are not included among the graduates.

The following shows the subsequent careers of the graduates from the regular courses of the government schools of foreign languages for the preceding year, ascertained on March 1 of the year succeeding their graduation, and classified according to the schools, together with the annual comparative statistics relating to them:—

	Government officials	Reserve officers or those who joined the army	School officials	Members of companies or banks	Journalists	Those who went abroad in the service of companies or banks	Those who were studying by themselves	Those whose occupations were unknown	Those who died	Total
Tokyo School of Foreign Languages ...	36	—	19	62	—	4	8	37	1	167
Osaka Foreign Language School...	18	6	17	64	—	—	14	52	1	172
Total	54	6	36	126	—	4	22	89	2	339
1928-29.....	26	6	39	101	—	—	25	135	2	334
1927-28.....	34	8	61	81	—	10	29	142	4	369
1926-27.....	24	33	40	77	1	6	36	91	2	310
1925-26.....	23	35	65	110	—	5	35	88	1	362

Table showing, for 1929-30, the number of pupils, graduates, etc., classified according to the subjects of study.

		Pupils.	Graduates.	Applicants for Admission.	Those admitted.
Regular Course	English	Literature Course 75	—	225	17
		Trades " 49	—	96	16
	French	Literature " 46	—	96	16
		Trades " 35	—	31	14
	German	Literature " 40	—	67	16
		Trades " 35	—	35	16
	Russian	Literature " 21	—	29	10
		Trades " 29	—	16	12
		Colonization " 5	—	5	3
	Italian	Literature " 9	—	13	8
		Trades " 11	—	9	7
		Colonization " 4	—	5	4
	Spanish	Literature " 24	—	13	9
		Trades " 35	—	39	15
		Colonization " 22	—	27	7
Post-graduate Course	Portuguese	Literature " 8	—	6	5
		Trades " 10	—	10	6
		Colonization " 9	—	16	6
	Chinese	Literature " 29	—	13	11
		Trades " 30	—	29	11
		Colonization " 19	—	9	9
	Mongolian	Trades " 6	—	6	4
		Colonization " 8	—	9	6
	Malay	Trades " 8	—	—	—
		Colonization " 5	—	—	—
Elective Course	Hindustani	Trades " 8	—	—	—
		Colonization " 5	—	—	—
	Total	585	—	804	228
	Post-graduate Course	1	—	—	—
Special Course	Elective Course	33	22	10	10
	Short Course	230	88	370	248
	Grand Total	866	126	1,222	520

		Pupils	Graduates	Applicants for Admission	Those admitted
Osaka Foreign Language School	Chinese	103	28	296	37
	Mongolian ..	24	—	24	14
	Malay	72	24	101	29
	Hindustani ..	36	21	38	17
	Regular English	105	29	652	39
	French	85	32	169	24
	German	67	19	234	25
	Russian	68	22	57	22
	Spanish	37	—	84	19
	Total ...	597	175	1,655	226
Elective Course	—	—	—	3	2
	Special Course	119	41	361	227
Grand Total		716	216	2,019	455

III. TECHNICAL EDUCATION

As has been repeatedly emphasized, Japanese education has always placed particular emphasis upon morality and utilitarianism. It is not surprising therefore to find that from the earliest days of the modern system technical education has been fostered. To-day the technical schools and technical continuation schools boast more students than any other type of educational institutions, with the exception of the elementary schools.

The term "Technical School" as used in Japan includes agricultural schools, commercial schools, nautical schools, fisheries schools and trade schools. Technical continuation schools give instruction on similar subjects but the hours are fewer and the standard lower.

Technical education was inaugurated in Japan under the new régime in 1871, when the Department of Public Works established a school for the training of the engineers required by the Department. This school was organized under an all-British staff, and it so remained until 1886. The following year saw the opening of an agricultural college, under American instructors, in Hokkaido,⁽¹⁾ and in 1875 a private commercial school was opened

(1) This was the nucleus of the present Sapporo Imperial University.

in Tokyo. At these three institutions graduated many of the men who in later years played an leading part in directing the energies and guiding modern Japan.

Other technical schools were opened from time to time, and in 1899 the whole movement was given an enhanced status by the promulgation of the Imperial Ordinance on technical education. As defined by this Ordinance, technical schools were to be established for the purpose of imparting knowledge and art essential to those engaged in the industries and for the development of their character.

There is a much greater variation in the standard of work done in the technical schools of Japan than in any other branch of the nation's education. This is due in part to the nature of the work itself, but more particularly to the determination of the authorities to give technical training to as many students as possible, even though in many cases such training is of necessity rudimentary. In the closing years of the 19th Century it was necessary to educate the people to seek to have their children trained along technical lines. There still existed in some sections of society a strong prejudice against commercial training and a persistence in the earlier belief that education meant nothing but book learning. Throughout the greater part of Japanese history this belief had been fundamental in the nation's education and it demanded great pains on the part of Japan's educational authorities to convince the people as a whole that enthusiasm for technical training was not contrary even to the wisest principles of education. Thus, much prejudice and many difficulties had to be overcome before it was possible to induce the authorities to establish technical schools, and when they were established to persuade parents to send their children to such schools rather than to enter them as applicants for admission to the middle schools.

The regulations for the establishment and maintenance of technical schools closely resemble those for other educational institutions. Thus, some schools are established by the national government, others by the prefectoral authorities, still others by local authorities, and some by private

individuals. In every instance permission of the Minister of Education must be obtained, although, as suggested above, considerable latitude is permitted in regard to the subjects taught, the standards maintained and the qualifications of teachers.

As is not unnatural, higher standards are maintained in the government technical schools, of which at the present time there are 44. The following table shows the figures for these schools in a typical year :—

Type of School	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils	Applicants for Admission	No. Admitted
Technical Schools.....	20	886	7,680	16,889	2,617
Agricultural Schools...	10	366	2,984	6,648	1,139
Commercial Schools ...	12	418	6,981	11,331	2,402
Nautical Schools	2	125	1,484	2,116	320
Total	44	1,795	19,129	36,984	6,478

It will consequently be seen that only 17.5% of the applicants for admission to the government technical schools in the year under review (and this may be accepted as a typical example) were admitted.

The 20 technical schools listed in the above table admit graduates of the middle schools, special preparatory course, technical schools of secondary grade, and those who have passed the test. The terms of studies vary according to the subjects demanded and the conditions in the locality, but as a rule they extend from three to five years for graduates from ordinary elementary schools, and from two to three years for graduates from higher elementary schools. The agricultural schools are established under similar conditions, except that in some cases special shorter courses are offered and that the students admitted must be over fourteen years of age. Commercial schools in addition to the regular course of study varying from three to five years are allowed in some cases to establish a higher department to which are admitted graduates of higher schools or persons of similar attainments. In nautical schools and fishery schools the terms of admission and the length of the course are almost identical

with those in the technical schools above referred to.

In addition to the government technical schools there have been established by local authorities and private individuals over nine hundred technical schools designed to provide similar instruction. While admission to the government schools is difficult and the standards maintained comparatively high, in public and private schools admission is easier and over 60% of the applicants are admitted and the standard of work varies greatly. The following table shows the number of students participating in these classes and the number of schools and teachers provided for their instruction.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

Types of School	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils	Applicants for Admission	No. Admitted	Percentage Admitted
Public	718	9,499	197,065	104,549	64,694	61%
Private.....	199	3,820	71,465	42,530	27,129	64%

Technical continuation schools have been established in great numbers for the purpose of providing elementary instruction in technical subjects for students whose education would otherwise end with the elementary school course. These schools are held at such times and in such places as will admit of the attendance of young people who are engaged in commercial or industrial life. The hours of instruction range from 200 to 420 a year, and in most cases the classes are held in the evening. The standards are necessarily low, but the value of the training given should not be unduly minimized as thereby schools do provide opportunities for ambitious young men and women to obtain technical training which will be of benefit to them in the pursuit of their daily work. The following table offers evidence to justify the belief that these schools provide ample opportunities which are eagerly accepted by a large number of the Japanese.

**PUBLIC AND PRIVATE TECHNICAL
CONTINUATION SCHOOL**

Type of School	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils	No. Admitted
Public	15,256	17,556	1,177,670	625,888
Private	37	240	3,525	2,260

The technical continuation schools are the only important educational institutions in Japan that are not obliged to turn away a large percentage of applicants for admission. This is because the standards in general are such as to make the work possible for students with the most meagre background, and because there are so many of these schools, due to the low cost of their establishment and upkeep. Another noteworthy feature is that of the 17,556 teachers in the technical continuation schools no fewer than 5,605 are officially listed as unqualified. These special schools were recently amalgamated and renamed Youths Schools.

CHAPTER X

GIRLS SCHOOLS

The education of girls in Japan is still in many respects different from that of boys and youths. There are few subjects upon which it is more difficult for a foreigner to gain a just appreciation of the facts of Japanese life than that of the status of women.⁽¹⁾ That there have been and still are legal and social discriminations from which women suffer is evident,⁽²⁾ as is also the lack of consideration which on the farm or in the city so often characterizes the attitude of the Japanese man towards the women of his race. That the man is more important than the woman, that a boy child is more to be desired than a girl, that it is the wife's duty to sacrifice herself for the welfare of her husband rather than vice versa—these facts are clear and admitted. So also is the comparatively small field of social activity to which even the most energetic, able and public-spirited women are restricted in Japan, though during the past ten years this field has been considerably widened.

It is true that very great changes both in the legal and the social rights of women have taken place within the past few years, and that their sphere of action is still constantly widening. Yet, it is predominantly true, as Baron Kikuchi wrote in 1908, that the Japanese people above all else "demand it of our women that they shall be good wives and wise mothers as a duty that they have to perform as Japanese subjects."⁽³⁾ It is felt—and not by men alone—

(1) See "The Social Status of Japanese Women" by Waka Yamada, published by International Society for Cultural Relations, Tokyo, 1936.

(2) See article by S. Matsushita, Ph. D. in "Japan Times" 3rd December, 1934.

(3) Kikuchi—*op. cit.* p. 255.

that this is as much as should be demanded of any woman and that its performance should prove as satisfying to the women as it is beneficial to society. There is as yet no strong belief in the necessity of a thorough training in academic subjects, or of a wide knowledge of the world outside the home for those whose chief, if not sole, object in existence is to become "good wives and wise mothers." The civic change is clearly coming but it is coming slowly and is being delayed by the indifference of the women themselves as well as by the reluctance of the men to admit of social equality in the sexes.

There are three periods that can be traced in the history of women in Japan. In earliest times women seem to have occupied a comparatively high position in society. This is reflected in the fact that the first Imperial Ancestress was a woman—the Sun Goddess Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami. Then a number of important Empresses and women appear to have played no inconspicuous part in the practice of the arts and the patronage of learning. Even war and tribal leadership were not exclusively man's field and women took an active part in politics and statecraft.⁽¹⁾

With the introduction of Chinese philosophy the position of women underwent a change. Baron Kikuchi has well described the influence that the new learning exerted.

"Chinese philosophers seem not to have had much respect for women; while Buddhism regards women as sinful creatures, a temptation and snare, an obstacle to peace and holiness. In our feudal system, in the code of Bushido, there was no such reverence for women as in the Western chivalry. As Professor Chamberlain has remarked: 'A Japanese knight performed his valiant deeds for no such fanciful rewards as a lady's smile. He performed them out of loyalty to his lord, or filial piety towards the memory of his father.'

"Under the feudal system it was natural that a woman could not become the head of a house, for she could not discharge duties required of such, the first of which was military service. The rule of "Three Obediences" for women—obedience while at home to her parents; obedience when married to

(1) Naruse. *op. cit.* p. 196. Brinkley. *op. cit.* p. 75.

her husband; obedience when old (i.e. widowed) to her son (i.e. the head of the house)—was a necessary consequence of this disability."

There is, of course, always the danger of overstressing this deterioration in the status of women, for as Baron Kikuchi goes on to point out, while the woman owed obedience to the head of the house she received in general the tokens of respect due to her as wife and mother. But it has nevertheless been true that throughout the larger part of Japanese history women have been looked upon as definitely less important than men. Their education has been confined primarily to instruction in the service of the family and the home. When in some of the wealthier or more distinguished families further training was desired, it was designed to "give her manners, grace and her taste refinement"⁽¹⁾ rather than to arouse intellectual interests. This additional instruction would in general be confined to such matters as music, dancing, the tea ceremony or flower arrangement. In general it may be said that down until very recent times the only class of Japanese women whose minds were trained to make them in any sense the *intellectual* companions of men, were the Geisha, whose position in many cases was not unlike that of the *Hetærae* of Periclean Athens.

The third period in the history of Japanese womanhood is being gradually introduced today. It is true that women do not yet either legally or socially enjoy the same rights as men, and it is generally agreed that the educational training given to girls is neither as extended nor as thorough as that given to boys. But this discrimination is gradually passing, and a new era in which the women of Japan will enjoy the legal, political and social rights to which their many virtues so eminently entitle them seems to be approaching.

In the modern history of Japan, Banzan Kumazawa (1616-1697) appears to have been the first educational theorist to advocate the training of women in any way other than the development of the virtues of gentleness, obedience, chastity and honesty. Kumazawa taught that women should not

(1) Hosbino. "The Education of Women," in Nitobe *op. cit.* p. 215.

be content with these negative virtues but should "learn to exercise their minds, seek knowledge of teachers, and study some of the Chinese classics. . . ." In short, while giving the highest place to the cultivation of womanly virtues, he also urged the women of his time to be mindful of intellectual development.⁽¹⁾

Ekken Kaibara was, however, the most vigorous of the early proponents of intellectual training for women, and to the failure to provide this he attributed all her shortcomings.⁽²⁾ But even Kaibara and his followers had no idea of offering women the same education as to men. Kaibara and his school all agreed in the main distinction insisted upon by the Confucian doctrines. Although boys and girls might begin their education together, "males and females at the age of seven should not occupy the same bench".⁽³⁾ In one of the most popular books of instruction for women (published in 1725), it was taught that "Unto a woman her husband shall be her Heaven and the relations of husband and wife shall be like those of a lord and his subject".⁽⁴⁾

There is little change to record in the history of women's education until the impact of foreign culture was beginning to produce its effect in the middle of the 19th Century. About the time of the Restoration, girls' schools were opened by a number of the clans, and although the curriculum was largely based upon mediaeval precepts there was some evidence of the approach of a new era. Although these schools were closed when the national system of education was inaugurated, they did play an important pioneer part in the history of Japanese education. The same can be said with considerably more justification of the influence exerted by the early foreign missionaries and their wives, and of the schools which they were influential in opening.⁽⁵⁾ Before

(1) Naruse. "The Education of Japanese Women" in *Okuma* *op. cit.*—p. 193.

(2) *Ibid. op. cit.* p. 193.

(3) Confucian Principle.

(4) Quoted in Naruse *op. cit.* p. 195.

(5) In this connection Naruse names the Ferris Anglo-Japanese Girls School and the Kyoritsu Jogakko of Yokohama; the Joshi Gakuin, Aoyama Jogakuin and the Rikkyo Jogakko of Tokyo; the Doshisha Jogakko of Kyoto; the Jogakuin of Kobe; and the Baikwa Jogakko of Osaka. p. 205.

the end of the 19th century the missionaries had opened over forty schools for girls within the Empire of Japan. It is probably true that many of these schools fell far short of the standards that would be acceptable today, but as has been said by a distinguished Japanese woman educator who was herself a graduate of a mission school, "People often speak of the many shortcomings of these schools, but to me it is wonderful rather to think how much they accomplished under the circumstances. There is no denying, at any rate, that many of the women who are leaders now among the Japanese women owe their spiritual and intellectual awakening to these schools. And when we think of the hundreds who went out of these schools, their intellect stimulated with new learning and their souls awakened to the new significance of life, there should be only gratitude on our part."⁽¹⁾

In September, 1871, the Emperor issued a Rescript directed particularly to the aristocracy and advocating foreign travel for the purpose of increasing their knowledge and broadening their experience. In view of the "lack of an established system of education for women" it was particularly stressed that the nobles should take with them on their foreign travels their wives, daughters and sisters. "Then would these see for themselves how in the lands they visit women receive their education, and would also learn the way to bring up their children."⁽²⁾

Not all the daughters of the aristocracy could be expected to go abroad, however, and for the benefit of those who had to be educated in Japan the Government opened in 1877 a girls' department of the Peers' Schools. It provided instruction in elementary and secondary school grades, but the arrangement did not prove satisfactory, so that in 1885, by the order of H. M. the Empress, an independent Peeresses School was established.⁽³⁾ Its classes were opened also to the daughters of families other than members of the peerage, who could comply with certain specified qualifications,

(1) Nitobe "Western Influences in Modern Japan" *op. cit.* 222.

(2) *Imperial Rescript* of the 14th September, 1871.

(3) Kuroda. *op. cit.* p. 1195.

and a six-year course of elementary instruction was followed by secondary training of similar length. Later, a seminary department was added and the girls were given the opportunity to pursue further studies in the various branches of art and learning.⁽¹⁾

The provision of general education for the daughters of the lower and middle classes was advocated in the Imperial Rescript proclaiming the new system of education, and in 1872 it was made effective. Since that time, although the regulations have changed in many details, they remain, so far as elementary education is concerned, the same in their essential features for boys and girls.

Secondary education for girls was inaugurated by the establishment of the Tokyo Jogakko (Tokyo Girls' School) and the Ei-Jogakko (English Girls' School) of Kyoto in 1872. In 1882 a new department known as the Girls' High School was added to the Tokyo Women's Normal School, and this innovation gradually spread throughout the prefectures. By the Ordinance respecting Girls' High Schools, promulgated in 1899, it became imperative for every prefecture to establish at least one girls' high school. By 1905 such girls' schools (both public and private) numbered only one hundred. Of boys' middle schools in the same year there were almost three hundred, with more than three times the number of students.⁽²⁾ This disparity in the provisions made for secondary education for girls as compared with those for boys has continued, and has indeed always characterized Japanese educational history. Even in the Terakoya of the Middle Ages the number of boys was almost always at least twice that of girls in attendance.

No discussion of girls' schools in Japan would be complete without reference to the outstanding service rendered in this field by foreign missionaries and by Japanese edu-

(1) *Naruse. op. cit.* pp. 206-8.

(2)

	Schools	Pupils
Boys	271	104,551
Girls	100	31,574

See *Naruse op. cit.* p. 213.

Note:—Today there are 900 girls' high schools and their students outnumber the boys in the middle schools. But most girls do not go beyond the high school.

tors who have themselves been influenced by the mission schools. Such schools as the Ferris Academy in Yokohama (established in 1870), and later the Women's Union Christian College, Kobe College, and a great number of other institutions established by missionary enthusiasm, have contributed much in the history of women's education in Japan. Among the Japanese women who have been influenced by Western ideals in regard to the education of girls, perhaps Miss Tsuda and Dr. Yoshioka are the most outstanding. Further, Mrs. Harris's radical experiments in modern educational methods may reveal peculiar importance for the future. Miss Tsuda and Dr. Yoshioka started their schools in the opening year of the century, and when Miss Tsuda died in 1929 her famous women's college had an enrolment of over 400, admirable buildings, and standards of work that compared favourably with Japanese men's colleges of a similar grade. Dr. Yoshioka's medical school, with almost 1000 students, was doing excellent work in the training of women physicians and public health specialists.⁽¹⁾ The Japan Women's University, established by Mr. Jinzo Naruse in 1901, has also been an important influence in this field.

In spite of these exceptions, however, it is true that the education of Japanese girls still fails to obtain the assistance that it should receive in a country of modern standards and ideals. This fact is clearly evidenced by the nomenclature of the schools. On leaving the primary schools, those boys who are able to continue their education go first to middle schools (Chugakko) and then to higher schools (Kotogakko). Girls, on the other hand, go direct to their Kotojogakko or girls' high schools. "This fact

(1) It is of interest to observe that women doctors are recorded in Japanese history as far back as the Nara period. At that time they are reported to have gained their learning through being allowed to listen to doctors' lecture, although they were not permitted to study the books themselves. Nevertheless, there are apparently authentic cases of women doctors who were accomplished in obstetrics, acupuncture and even surgery. Individual cases of women physicians and surgeons are recorded in both the Ashikaga and Tokugawa eras. See Appendix. *Bulletin of the Tokyo Women's Medical College*. Oct. 1934. pp. 19-21.

alone indicates the attitude taken by the authorities towards boys and girls. It was, of course, presupposed that boys would go on to higher schools after finishing the middle schools, while for the girls the secondary school was quite high enough."⁽¹⁾ The situation is aggravated also by the fact that the academic standards of the girls' high schools are much lower than those of the boys' middle schools. This is certainly not necessitated by any intellectual inferiority of the Japanese girls. The Government has not provided a single college for women, although seven universities and a great number of specialized schools of college type have been established for men. However, some universities are permitted to offer full privileges to women students. For example, Tohoku Imperial University (Sendai) permits its women students to take the degree of *Hakushi* (Doctorate), the same as do the men.

This discrimination between the educational facilities provided for boys and girls in Japan is sometimes excused on the ground that Japanese women neither need nor desire more advanced academic facilities. Any such justification for the policy of discrimination is becoming less and less conclusive among the women of Japan. It is quite true that there is no very strong "women's rights" movement in modern Japan. It is even true that a great many Japanese women are definitely opposed to any programme that would result in the members of their sex being exposed to the dangers that allegedly accompany participation in public and academic life. For example, at a national convention of women primary school teachers held in the spring of 1934 a motion favouring women suffrage was defeated by 800 votes to 3! Nevertheless, the number of women (and men also) who recognize in Japan that the intricacies and problems of modern life demand the most adequate training possible of both men and women is steadily growing. Women in Japan have always played a definite part in the business world, though generally in its more simple manifestation,

(1) *Hosbino. op. cit.* pp. 224-225.

but they are now in a few isolated but symptomatic cases moving into posts of greater responsibility. They are also knocking at the doors that shelter the professional classes. Their right to enter, on the ground of both capacity and character is patent to all unbiased observers. Only opportunities for training are lacking, but it is likely that this situation will not be allowed to persist for long.

Girls' high schools as at present organized have as their declared objective: "to give a general education of high standard to women, to foster the spirit of national morality and to develop female virtue."⁽¹⁾ Actually, and as compared with the work done in the boys' middle schools, the standard in the girls' institutions is not high. There is a great variation in the courses of study offered by the various high schools. The general course usually covers either four or five years, but in some cases when local conditions prescribe the change this is reduced to three for graduates of higher elementary schools. A post-graduate course of two or three years is sometimes offered to those who wish to pursue the study of one or more selected subjects. Some high schools for girls provide only courses in household science; in others this special subject is added at the end of the ordinary course. Other schools still add a higher course of three years at the end of the regular course.

Candidates for admission to girls' high schools that offer a four or five-year course must be graduates of an ordinary elementary school or have an equivalent training, and schools offering a three-year course can accept only graduates of a higher elementary school or those with an equivalent training.

An adequate idea of the type of work done in the girls' schools can be obtained from an examination of the following table which shows the number of hours per week devoted to the various subjects in a typical four-year course in a girls' high school.⁽²⁾

(1) 56th Annual Report of the Department of Education. p. 145.

(2) Taken from the *Detailed Regulations for the operation of the Girls' High School Act.*

Curriculum	First Year.	Second Year.	Third Year.	Fourth Year.
Morals.....	2	2	1	1
Civics	—	—	1	1
National Language	6	6	5	5
Foreign Language	3	3	3	3
History, Geography	3	3	2	2
Mathematics	2	2	3	3
Natural Science	2	2	3	3
Drawing	1	1	1	—
Domestic Course	—	—	2	4
Sewing	4	4	4	4
Music	2	2	1	—
Gymnastics.....	3	3	3	3
Total	28	28	29	29

For comparison the hours of work devoted to the different subjects in a Girls' Domestic High School course of four years are given below.

Curriculum	First Year.	Second Year.	Third Year.	Fourth Year.
Morals.....	2	2	1	1
Civics	—	—	1	1
National Language	6	6	5	5
History, Geography	2	2	2	—
Mathematics	2	2	2	3
Natural Science & Domestic Science	3	3	3	4
Sewing	8	8	8	8
Drawing	1	1	1	—
Songs	1	1	1	—
Business	—	—	2	4
Gymnastics.....	3	3	3	3
Total	28	28	29	29

Some idea of the work done may be gained from the five-year curriculum of the girls' high schools, on p. 240.

It shows the standard of ordinary lessons given in high schools for girls of a five-year course. In schools of a shorter course, such as four years or three years, heads of schools may modify the curriculum according to general rules of the Department of Education.

National language : Lessons in the Japanese language are given in various ways, such as reading, composition, grammar, dictation, recitation, etc. The text-books in Japanese are chosen to teach the beauty of national polity and the origin of the Japanese race, as well as the national character,

with a view to inculcating healthy thought and to developing gentle and graceful feminine virtue. The chosen reading books contain both prose and poetry of modern, mediaeval and ancient times.

	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year
<i>History</i>	Japanese history.	Japanese contemporary history.	Oriental history.	Occidental history.	Modern Japanese history.
<i>Geography</i>	Japanese geography.	Manchoukuo & Asiatic geography.	Asiatic & European geography.	European & American geography.	Astronomical & geological geography.
<i>Mathematics</i>	Arithmetic integers, decimals, compound numbers.	Arithmetic divisor, multiples, fractions & proportions. Algebraic equations, plain geometry.	Arithmetic percentages, algebra, plain geometry.	Arithmetic, evolution, involution, mensuration, solid geometry.	Elementary Trigonometry.
<i>Natural science</i>	Botany, Zoology.	Mineralogy, Physiology, Hygiene.	Chemistry, Physics.	Chemistry, Physics.	Elementary, Biology.

The following table gives a general idea of the number of girls who are able to attend these high schools, and it indicates also the various authorities which provide such facilities.

Type of School	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils	No. of Applicants	No. Admitted
Government High School for Girls ...	3	63	1,370	1,294	532
Public High Schools for Girls	521	8,903	242,268		
Private High Schools for Girls	210	4,035	88,328		
Public Domestic High Schools for Girls...	191	1,076	23,415		
Private Domestic High Schools for Girls...	15	195	3,886		
Totals	940	14,272	359,267	154,613	95,681

CHAPTER XI

NORMAL SCHOOLS

HISTORY

ONE of the greatest difficulties that the Japanese Government had to face in the construction of its educational system in the Meiji Era was the lack of properly-trained instructors. It was quite natural and inevitable that this should be so in view of the fundamental change, not only in the content of the educational curriculum but also in the methods of teaching. In view of the extraordinary difficulties that had to be overcome, the achievements are worthy of the highest praise. The difficulties have not all been surmounted, however, and the officials of the Department of Education are the first to admit the necessity of raising still further the standard of teaching throughout Japan. Every possible effort is being made to achieve this end by the establishment and support of normal schools, and by the provision of scholarships and other forms of aid for suitable candidates. The machinery that has been constructed and is being used to this end is described in the following pages.

The first normal school under the new dispensation in Japan was established in Tokyo in 1872. The demand for teachers was so great that within two years no less than fifty-three training schools were opened, seven by the national authorities and forty-six by the prefectures. Many of these schools were excusably primitive in the extreme, and at first far from adequate in their efforts to bring into existence a body of teachers capable of employing effectively the new and greatly changed methods of class instruction which

were now to take the place of the individual training that had marked the relations between the teachers and their students during the preceding centuries.

The number of normal schools continued to expand rapidly, but without adequate supervision or direction in the following years. By 1883 there were 80 such centres for teacher training, but the lack of uniformity, and the deplorably low standards of some of the institutions, led to a demand for reform, which by 1886 the Department of Education was able to answer by completely reorganizing the whole system of normal school education. The two state normal schools in Tokyo were united into a single institution to be known as the Higher Normal School, and to it was assigned the duty of preparing teachers for the prefectural normal schools. Each prefecture in turn was ordered to organize one, and only one, normal school; standards were raised and made uniform, and in return for public support during the period of training, the teachers were obliged to agree to teach for a specified number of years, as are, for example, the French normalians. The change in the spirit of the reformed institutions was even greater than the change in the curriculum and physical equipment. "A semi-military discipline was introduced . . . and the pupils were taught to look upon their future profession as forming an important part of the functions of the State, which they must fulfil as a duty to the State."⁽¹⁾

In the Imperial Ordinance on Normal Schools issued in 1886 the first article gave the following definition of the purpose of the Schools: "Normal Schools are designed to train teachers. The pupils must be trained to cultivate the spirit of Obedience, Sympathy, and Dignity." This is the spirit and atmosphere that still pervades the Japanese normal schools. Whatever its limitations as the expression of an ideal, it has at least greatly improved the general standard of teaching, and it has in general produced a teaching body

(1) *Kikuchi.* *op. cit.* p. 283.

capable of making effective the will of the national authorities whose ideals its members are employed to inculcate.

Since 1897 the restriction in the number of normal schools has been withdrawn, and new regulations as to courses have from time to time been introduced. But the general methods and objectives have altered little.

Normal schools in Japan are divided into four categories, higher normal schools for men, higher normal schools for women, special institutes for the training of teachers, and ordinary normal schools.

According to the Imperial Ordinance, the higher normal schools for men were established for the purpose of training teachers for normal schools and middle schools. At present there are only two such institutions, both established under the direct control of the Department of Education. They are the Tokyo Higher Normal School and the Hiroshima Higher Normal School. In these schools there are two major courses, one in science and one in literature, each extending over a four-year term. In addition, the Tokyo Higher Normal School provides a course in physical education, a special investigation course, a post-graduate course, and special courses as opportunity offers and demands are made, while the Hiroshima Higher Normal School offers a course in pedagogics, a special investigation course, and a post-graduate course. Certain elective courses are also permitted in special circumstances.

A middle school and a primary school are attached to each of these Higher Normal Schools and are used for teaching practice by the pupil teachers and for demonstration classes by experts. The standards of the attached middle and primary schools are high so that there is keen competition each year for entry to them.

PRESENT SCOPE OF HIGHER NORMAL SCHOOLS

The following table gives some idea of the scope upon which these two Higher Normal Schools operate:—

	No. of Teachers			Pupils	Graduates	Applicants for admission	Those admitted	Percentage of applicants admitted
	Professors	Assistant Professors	Foreign Instructors					
Tokyo Higher Normal School (1933-34)	112	3	115	1,071	224	3,500	327	10.7%
Hirosima Higher Normal School ... (1933-34)	75	2	77	681	158	2,442	187	13.0%
Total (1933-34)	187	5	192	1,752	382	5,942	514	11.5%

COURSES IN HIGHER NORMAL SCHOOLS

The courses in literature and science in the higher normal schools extend over four years and are divided into several sections to comply with the varying requirements of the pupils. The students are admitted after competitive examination, and the competition is most keen, with less than 10% of the applicants succeeding. In some cases only 1 in 25 succeeds; in others, 1 in 5 or 6. All candidates must be graduates of normal schools or middle schools and with special recommendations, or others with similar qualifications. As typical of the work done in the ordinary course the following schedule of the section of Japanese language and Chinese literature of the literature course may be examined. Practice teaching is carried on in the attached middle school and the attached primary school of the two Higher Normal Schools.

	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
Morals and Ethics	1	2	2	2
Japanese Language	3	6	7	6
Chinese Literature.....	3	6	7	7
English Language	10	5	3	—
Mathematics	4	—	—	—
Logic	2	—	—	—
Drawing	2	—	—	—
Music	2	—	—	—

	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
Gymnastics	3	3	3	2
Psychology in Education,	—	2	3	5
History: Japanese &				
Oriental	—	3	3	—
Philology & Phonetics...	—	—	—	3
Outlines of Philosophy...	—	—	—	2
Total hours	30	27	28	27

OBLIGATIONS OF HIGHER NORMAL SCHOOL GRADUATES

As the pupils of the higher normal schools are obliged to serve the state for a certain number of years following graduation, they receive during their period of training not only free tuition but also free lodging and other expenses. The period of compulsory service following graduation is based on the amount of money the pupil-teacher has received during the training course. Those who have received full support from the state are required to teach for not less than six years; those who have only received free tuition must serve for a minimum of two years. The graduates of the Tokyo and Hiroshima Universities of Literature and Science are under no obligation to serve as teachers after their graduation.

The higher normal schools for women are established for the training of teachers in high schools for girls and for the girls' departments of the ordinary normal schools. Similar to the higher normal schools for men there are two institutions for women, both under the direct control of the Department of Education. They are the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women and the Nara Higher Normal School for Women.

WOMEN'S HIGHER NORMAL SCHOOLS

The curriculum of the higher normal schools for women is divided into three courses of four years each, specializing respectively in literature, science and domestic science. There is also a post-graduate course, and in some cases special elective courses are permitted. The Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women provides in addition a course in practical nursing, and the school at Nara a course for

training Kindergarten teachers. It also offers a special preparatory course for foreigners who wish to qualify to teach in Japan. Each school has a girls' high school, an elementary school and a Kindergarten attached. Here the students of the higher normal school have an opportunity to examine pedagogical methods applied by experts and obtain teaching practice themselves.

PRESENT SCOPE OF WOMEN'S HIGHER NORMAL SCHOOLS

The following table shows the staff, graduates, and candidates for admission of these two schools :—

	Teachers	Pupils	Graduates	Applicants for admission	Those admitted	Percentage admitted.
	Male & Female					
Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women (1933-34)	62	443	104	831	114	7.2%
Nara Higher Normal School for Women. (1933-34)	43	413	106	633	103	6.1%
Total	105	856	210	1,464	217	6.7%

The students in the higher normal schools for women are selected from the graduates of girls' normal schools or girls' high schools, or from other graduates who have similar qualifications and have been specially recommended. All must be of sound constitution and good moral character. Candidates are all subjected to examination, and admission is granted up to the school capacity. This means the rejection of about 85% of the applicants.

CURRICULA IN WOMEN'S HIGHER NORMAL SCHOOLS

The curriculum of the women's higher normal schools includes the following subjects : ethics, educational theory, English language, Japanese language, Chinese literature,

history, geography, music and gymnastics in the literary section; and ethics, education, English language, mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural science, music and gymnastics in the science section. Variations are allowed in particular cases, and special courses are also arranged if the demand justifies it and the staff and equipment are adequate. The graduates are obliged to teach from two to six years according to the amount of financial assistance they have received.

SPECIAL TEACHERS' TRAINING INSTITUTES

The Special Institutes for the Training of Teachers were organized to provide teachers for normal schools, middle schools and high schools for girls. The table on p. 248 gives the distribution of the schools, and the subjects in which they respectively specialized. The various schools specially operated these institutes under their control at a time when there was a scarcity of teachers. As, however, there is today a glut of teachers, only one of these special courses is continued, viz. that of the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women.

Each institute was under the management of the president or director of the university or school to which it was attached. The courses extended over three years, except for gymnastics and music, which were limited to two years. Admission was open to graduates of normal schools, middle schools, high schools for girls, or to those who showed by examination or otherwise that they had equivalent qualifications. The following figures illustrate the extent of the work done by these institutes:—

	No. of Institutes	No. of Teachers	Pupils	Graduates	Applicants for admission	Those admitted	Percentage admitted
1928-29	{ Male 2 Female	13 2	469 32	1,366 255	412 148	3,356 306	439 63 13% 20%

Institute	Under Auspices of	Location	Subjects
1st	Tokyo Higher Normal School	Tokyo	Japanese language and Chinese classics, English, Mathematics, History, Geography, Gymnastics, Natural history, Physics and Chemistry.
2nd	Hiroshima Higher Normal Schools	Hiroshima	Japanese language and Chinese classics, English, History and Geography, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, Natural history.
3rd	Nara Higher Normal School for Women	Nara	Japanese language and Chinese classics, Science, Mathematics, History and Geography.
4th	Tokyo Academy of Music	Tokyo	Music.
5th	Osaka Foreign Language School	Osaka	Japanese language and Chinese classics, History, Geography & English.
6th	Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women	Tokyo	Domestic Science and Sewing; Gymnastics and Science; Japanese language and Chinese classics; History, Geography.
7th	Imperial University of Kyoto	Kyoto	Japanese language and Chinese classics; Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry.
8th	Kyushu Imperial University	Fukuoka	Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry.
9th	Tohoku Imperial University	Sendai	Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry.
10th	Fourth Higher School	Kanazawa	Japanese language and Chinese classics Physics and Chemistry.
11th	Hamamatsu Higher Technical School	Hamamatsu	Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry.
12th	Tokyo School of Foreign Languages	Tokyo	English.
13th	Fifth Higher School	Kumamoto (Kyushu)	Japanese language and Chinese classics. Mathematics.
14th	Otaru Higher Commercial School	Otaru (Hokkaido)	English.
15th	Saga Higher School	Saga (Kyushu)	History and Geography.

NORMAL SCHOOLS

At least one ordinary normal school must be established by each prefecture and by the Government of Hokkaido, which in the national cadre of education is considered as a prefecture. The object of these schools is to train teachers for the elementary schools. Each normal school must have an attached elementary school, and those that admit women students are expected to have also a Kindergarten attached.

The normal school course is at present divided into two sections, the first covering five years, and the second lasting two years for men and women. Candidates for admission to the first section must be graduates of higher elementary schools with a two-year course or hold equivalent qualifications. Candidates for admission to the second section must be graduates of middle schools or of girls' high schools, or have equivalent qualifications, and the men must be not less than seventeen years of age and the women not less than sixteen years old. A post-graduate course is also provided. There are in addition training courses for teachers already holding certificates, and a similar course for Kindergarten teachers may be provided. The following statistics illustrate the numbers and work of the normal schools :—

	No. of Schools			Teachers			Pupils		
	For boys	For girls	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1933-34	57	46	103	2,106	228	2,334	21,898	10,919	32,817

The number of applicants for admission to the normal schools is far greater than the schools' capacity, so that about 80% of the applicants have to be refused each year.

The subjects taught and the hours devoted to each in the ordinary normal schools are outlined in the following pages :

ORDINARY COURSE FOR BOYS

Curriculum	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year
Morals	1	1	2	2	2
Civics	—	—	—	2	2
Pedagogy	—	—	2	4	5
National Language and Chinese Classics.....	6	6	5	4	4
History & Geography	4	4	4	2	2
English	4	4	4	—	—
Mathematics	4	3	3	2	2
Science	4	5	4	3	2
Business	1	1	2	2	2
Drawing, Manual work	3	3	2	2	2
Music	2	2	1	1	1
Gymnastics	5	5	5	4	4
Total, Regular Lessons	34	34	34	28	28

ORDINARY COURSE FOR GIRLS

Curriculum	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year
Morals.....	1	1	2	2	2
Civics	—	—	—	2	2
Pedagogy	—	—	2	4	5
National Language and Chinese Classics.....	6	6	5	4	4
History & Geography	4	4	4	2	2
English	3	3	3	—	—
Mathematics	4	3	3	2	2
Science	4	5	4	3	2
Domestic Course, Sewing	4	4	4	4	4
Drawing and Manual Work	3	3	2	2	2
Music	2	2	2	1	1
Gymnastics.....	3	3	5	2	2
Total, Regular Lessons	34	34	34	28	28

In the Second Section, the Schedule for Boys is as follows:

Curriculum	First Year	Second Year
Morals.....	2	2
Civics	1	1
Pedagogy	6	6
National Language & Chinese Classics...	2	2
History & Geography	2	2
Mathematics	2	2
Science	2	2
Business	2	2
Drawing, Manual Work	2	2
Music	2	2
Gymnastics.....	3	3
Total hours for regular lessons	26	26

Additional Lessons	First Year	Second Year
National Language and Chinese Classics...	2-4	2-4
History	2-4	2-4
Geography	2-4	2-4
English	2-4	2-4
Mathematics	2-4	2-4
Natural history	2-4	2-4
Physics and Chemistry	2-4	2-4
Business	2-4	2-4
Drawing	2-4	2-4
Manual work	2-4	2-4
Music	2-4	2-4
Total hours for additional lessons	8	8
Gross Total	34	34

The Girls' Course in the Second Section comprises the following :

Curriculum	First Year	Second Year
Morals.....	2	2
Civics	1	1
Pedagogy	6	6
National language and Chinese Classics...	3	3
History, Geography	2	2
Mathematics	3	2
Science	2	3
Domestic Course & sewing	3	3
Drawing and manual work	2	2
Music	2	2
Gymnastics	2	2
Total hours for regular lessons	28	28

Additional Lessons	First Year	Second Year
National Language & Chinese classics ...	2-4	2-4
History	2-4	2-4
Geography	2-4	2-4
English	2-4	2-4
Mathematics	2-4	2-4
Natural History	2-4	2-4
Physics & Chemistry	2-4	2-4
Domestic Course	2-4	2-4
Sewing	2-4	2-4
Business	2-4	2-4
Drawing	2-4	2-4
Manual Work.....	2-4	2-4
Music	2-4	2-4
Total hours for additional lessons	6	6
Gross total	34	34

The one-year Post-Graduate Course may be summarized thus :

Curriculum	Boys	Girls
Morals	2	2
Philosophy	3	3
Pedagogy	4	4
National Language and Chinese Classics...	3	3
Domestic course, Sewing.....	—	4
Business	3	—
Gymnastics	2	2
Total hours for regular lessons	17	18
<hr/>		
Additional Lessons		
Civics		
National Language and Chinese Classics...		
History		
Geography		
English		
Mathematics		
Science		
Domestic Course & Sewing (Girls)		
Business		
Drawing, Manual work		
Music		
Gymnastics		
Over two lessons of the above	10	10
Total	27	28

GENERAL DIRECTIONS FOR NORMAL SCHOOL TRAINING

The following general directions are given with respect to the training of teachers in normal schools :—

“ The teaching in Normal Schools must be based upon the Imperial Ordinance on Normal Schools and special attention must be paid to the following points :—

- (1) To be filled with the spirit of Loyalty and Patriotism is specially important for teachers, and hence pupils should be made to realize the grandeur and obligations of loyalty and filial piety, and to be inspired with sentiments proper to our nationality.
- (2) The discipline of mind and cultivation of virtues are specially important for teachers, and hence pupils should be made to pay special attention to those points in their daily life.

- (3) To observe discipline, to keep order and regularity, and to maintain dignity worthy of one who is to be a master and model is specially important for teachers, and hence pupils must be trained in habits of strict obedience to commands and instructions of superiors, and of correctness in their behaviour and speech.
- (4) To promote health is specially important for teachers. Hence students should be encouraged to pay special attention to physical education and hygiene and to improve their health in everyday life.
- (5) The instruction given must be fitted to the requirements of those who are going to be teachers, and should be in conformity with directions given in the regulations for teaching in elementary schools.
- (6) In teaching, attention must be paid to the methods employed, so that pupils may comprehend the method while receiving instruction on a subject.
- (7) The way of acquiring knowledge should not be solely by instruction, and hence pupils must be trained in habits of cultivating their knowledge and improving their skill by individual efforts."

"The only subject that needs to be noticed here perhaps is Pedagogy or Education, with practice in actual teaching. Under this subject, pupils are to be taught general knowledge concerning education, and in particular the purport and methods of elementary education ; items to be given are elements of psychology and logic, theory of education, principles of teaching methods, outlines of modern educational history, educational laws and regulations, school management, school hygiene, and so on. Practice in teaching is carried on in the elementary school which must be attached to every normal school ; pupils are made to teach children in turns, while the teacher in charge of the particular subject of teaching, the headmaster of the elementary school, and the elementary school teacher in charge of the class are present with pupils, not engaged in teaching, but to supervise and criticise the lessons, and sometimes take the class themselves to show model teaching."⁽¹⁾

Note :—Critics generally agree that this rigid regimentation of normal school teachers is the cause of that relative loss of individuality in their personality and teaching.

As the normal school of a prefecture is the educational

(1) *Kikuchi op. cit.* pp. 286—288 and 288—289.

centre of that political division, its director or principal is a man of considerable importance and a government official appointed by H.M. the Emperor on the recommendation of the Minister of Education. He must be of Sonin rank.

NORMAL SCHOOL DISCIPLINE

All normal school students are obliged to live in the school dormitories where they are subject to a semi-military discipline and close supervision of their conduct, outside activities and health. There is no tuition fee, and pupils are given allowances in addition to free lodging, textbooks and other essentials. As in other schools the pupils are taken annually on visits to places of historic, religious, scenic or national importance. In return for their training the students are required to serve as teachers, or in some other educational capacity, for periods varying between two and a half to eight years according to the value of the assistance given them by the state. When the Ministry gives full support the teachers are expected to teach eight years to compensate for the state aid they receive.

BUNRIKA DAIGAKU

(UNIVERSITY OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE)

Since April 1st of 1929 there have been the two Universities of Literature and Science, one in Tokyo and the other in Hiroshima. These state universities may best be understood as post-graduate universities of the higher normal schools. They draw their students very largely from the higher normal schools, and their object is to train highly-qualified teachers for the middle schools or the higher schools. There has been much discussion regarding them since their creation. The authorities are divided as to their need and usefulness. Some consider that they are offering the highest possible standard of teacher training, and serving in some degree as a course for high-grade students of the "*agrégé*" type. Others consider that their creation was nothing more than a sop to raise the status of the higher

normal school teachers whom the Ministry found it impossible to promote in any other way for their loyal services. But none can doubt their utility, though it might at first sight have appeared superfluous to create two new universities when there were already so many. The class of student admitted is high. He has already in many instances passed with honours either in the higher normal school or in some other university. Many of the students have taught in either middle schools or colleges and can therefore understand the problems which the young teacher has to face. But where the students are of specially high standard by the time they leave the Bunrika Daigaku is that these universities are really the only institutions in Japan which have anything of the tutorial system. The classes are small. For example, about 15 students are accepted each year for the English course. Then, the students are not harassed by an overcrowded curriculum. This gives them the time they seek to specialize, and to do some serious reading in their chosen subject under the personal guidance of their professors. The added advantage is that they are able to do this under first-class tutors who are recognized authorities in their subjects, and who really come into personal contact with their students in a manner which is impossible in the older universities where the classical lecture-system prevails, and where the classes are often too large to permit of any satisfactory contact between professor and student. Moreover, most professors at the two Universities of Literature and Science are regular members of the staff, which is an important factor in Japanese universities.

The English faculties of these two universities give the highest training in all Japan. This is easy to understand when it is remembered that the students are for the most part recruited from the English course of the higher normal schools. The students there are allowed to enter the university course, after examination, at the end of their third year, though a few do not advance until their fourth year. Others prefer to teach for a time before returning for the university course. Even should they enter the university

course after the third year they have already done six years of English, and specialized in its study for three years. The university course is for three years. Therefore, by the time they have completed the course it may be said that the graduates are specially selected students who have done at least nine years' study of English. For this reason they are keenly sought as teachers, particularly as they have had special training also in the technique of teaching English by the direct method, which the graduates of the English faculty in the Imperial and private universities have not received. What applies to the study of English applies also in varying degrees to the other subjects. It is therefore now generally conceded that the two Universities of Literature and Science justify their creation, both because of the exceptionally high standard they set and because of the specialists they provide, and who in turn raise the standards in the institutions which they later serve.

There have been in recent years various projects to change the system of these two universities, but so far nothing has been done. The object of the proposed changes is chiefly to make them still more responsible for the training of teachers, and to provide for the graduates of other institutions a teachers' training course which they would be required to take before they were allowed to teach in the public schools. This proposal has met with a good deal of support among the qualified teachers, who naturally resent that the graduates of other institutions, though they have received no special training as teachers, should be on an equal footing with them. However, due to the various political and other obstacles involved, nothing has been done to change the position, so that in 1937 the status of the Universities of Literature and Science is almost as it was at their creation in 1929.

CHAPTER XII

OTHER SCHOOLS

I. PEERS SCHOOL

THE Imperial Household Department of Japan has established two schools for the training of the sons and daughters of the aristocracy. These schools are known respectively as the Peers Schools and the Peeresses School, and are not controlled by the Department of Education, although in general the courses followed are similar to those imposed in the ordinary educational institutions. Admission to these schools is somewhat exclusive, although it has been known for pupils to be admitted who are neither the children of members of the peerage nor even, in some rare cases, children of Japanese nationality. As regards the curriculum there is more emphasis placed on foreign languages and stricter training in etiquette. In the boys' school there is also a greater emphasis placed upon such sports as riding, fencing and the like.

II. MISSIONARY SCHOOLS

The early missionaries who came to Japan at the time of the Restoration, and particularly those from the United States of America, were keen to promote public education, whose power was at that time making itself felt in the Western World. The influence of such educators as Horace Mann was not confined to their own countries. The Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries alike firmly believed in the old doctrine that those who have the training of a child will be able to plant in him religious beliefs that will never be uprooted. Thus, one of the first activities undertaken

by the missionary immigrants was that of opening schools for the training of Japanese youth.

Nor were Japanese children slow to respond. It is probable that very few of the Japanese students who entered missionary schools during the last forty years of the 19th Century did so from any desire to acquire a knowledge of Christianity, but they did wish to learn foreign languages and to acquire the basis of occidental learning which was becoming so very important in the rapid transformation of Japan from a mediaeval to a modern state. Thus the missionaries easily recruited their students, and many ambitious young men and women of Japan acquired an insight at least into occidental learning through the mission schools.

For the most part it may be said that the missionary schools in the early days were staffed by men of better education than were many of the foreign instructors who were then hired rather indiscriminately by the local Japanese educational authorities. For this reason many of the missionary schools rapidly acquired a name for scholarship which made them attractive to the more serious students among the Japanese. Thus there has at no time been any considerable difficulty experienced by the majority of the missionary schools in obtaining as many pupils as could profitably be enrolled. Within recent years, however, the best class of Japanese students have tended to avoid the missionary schools and to seek state schools. The reasons for this are not hard to understand. In the first place, the mission schools' hey-day was at the time when the Japanese schools were developing. Secondly, now that the best Japanese schools are of such a high standing the brilliant students go there. Today, therefore, the mission schools have largely to content themselves with those students who have failed to enter the best Japanese state schools.

Just how far the missionary schools have been successful in converting their pupils to a living belief in the principles of Christianity it is very difficult to estimate. It would perhaps not be inaccurate to say that abstract Christian principles have acquired a wider circulation and pro-

duced a larger influence in the lives of the students than could possibly be estimated by mere tabulation of the number of students who have become orthodox members of the Christian churches.

In recent times, at least, a distinction should perhaps be made between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant mission schools. In the Roman Catholic schools there are more direct efforts made to convert the pupils to a belief in the doctrines of the Church. In some cases this has produced an adverse reaction among the more nationalistic members of the community in whom there is still a very definite anti-Christian sentiment. Within recent years many criticisms of, and in a few instances even open attacks upon, Roman Catholic mission schools have been recorded in the Press.

In some cases schools established under missionary auspices have been promoted to the dignity of universities, a title that has most recently been conferred upon Kwansai Gakuin, a school established in 1889 under the joint auspices of the United Church of Canada and the Methodist Episcopal Church (of the south United States). Other institutions with university rank established by missionaries are Doshisha, (Kyoto) Jochi Daigaku (Roman Catholic) and Rikkyo, or St. Paul's (American Episcopalian). The last three are in Tokyo.

Missionary schools in Japan must obtain governmental permission to establish and operate, and they are obliged to maintain standards approved by the Monbusho. They are subject to official inspection, and in every respect must live up to the government regulations. Any religious teaching they do must be optional and given out of curriculum hours. This regulation is general and rigidly enforced.

III. SCHOOLS FOR THE PHYSICALLY OR MENTALLY HANDICAPPED

The Imperial Ordinance relating to schools for the blind, deaf and dumb makes it compulsory for each prefecture and

the Hokkaido⁽¹⁾ to establish at least one school of each class of the afflicted. Further, permission is given to cities, towns and villages, or to private persons, to found schools for the blind, deaf and dumb. At the present time in Japan there are two government institutions of this type, one the Tokyo School for the Blind and the other the Tokyo School for the Deaf and Dumb. Both are under the immediate control of the Department of Education. In addition, there are twenty-nine public schools for such afflicted persons, and forty-two private schools. The discrepancy between the number of public schools is explained by the fact that the government rules permit prefectures to adopt schools established by private individuals or by cities or towns as prefectural schools, and advantage has been taken of this regulation by a number of prefectures.

Schools of this type generally consist of two departments, the elementary and the middle grade, although in some schools permission is granted to dispense with either department. To be admitted to the elementary department of any school for the blind, or the deaf and dumb, candidates must be over six years of age. For admission to the middle grade department they must have completed the elementary training or give proof of an equivalent standard.

In the schools for the blind the curriculum in general emphasizes such subjects as music, acupuncture and massage. Teaching by the Braille method is not so advanced as in the West. But there is a system adapted by a Japanese teacher,⁽²⁾ and based on the Braille, by which the blind are taught to read. For the most part, however, blind Japanese students are taught by ear and memory-training. Throughout the whole period of Japanese history, massage, which plays so large a part in the therapeutics of the country, has been looked upon as an art particularly suited to the blind. This traditional attitude is still maintained, so that the schools for the blind offer a

(1) In all questions of administration in Education the northern island of Hokkaido is treated as a prefecture.

(2) Mr. K. Ishikawa, Assistant-Instructor in the Tokyo Blind and Dumb School.

first-class training in massage.

The annual number of applicants for admission to the Tokyo School for the Blind is about 125, of whom approximately 60 are admitted. The subsequent careers of the graduates from this school, to take a typical year, are as follows :—

Teachers	14
Engaged in acupuncture and massage.....	6
Hospital workers	2
Further study	10
Others	2

The schools for the deaf and dumb are similarly divided into two departments, providing an elementary and a middle course. The ordinary curriculum is confined very largely to drawing, sewing and the industrial arts. Some success has been achieved in teaching articulation and lip-reading, for which purpose the most modern Western methods have been introduced into a few schools, which have thereby trained instructors for other schools.

The Tokyo School for Deaf-mutes has in the neighbourhood of 130 applicants each year, but of these only about 90 are admitted.

Unfortunately, there is as yet in Japan no well-arranged system of training mentally defectives. Their education in separate classes is carried on experimentally in a few schools, thanks to the initiative of the local authorities. There is, however, no properly organized public system designed to provide the care and training that could so well be utilized by this unfortunate type, which for the most part are left to the care, or otherwise, of their families.

CHAPTER XIII

THE UNIVERSITIES

THE majority of the students who complete their middle school course desire to continue their studies at the higher schools and eventually enter a university. In order to do this they must decide whether or not to try for admission to an Imperial university, for if this be their aim, they must attend one or other of the comparatively few higher schools whose graduates are admitted by the Imperial universities. The Imperial universities justify their action in refusing to accept students from any but approved higher schools on the ground that the standard in the different higher schools varies to such a degree that any other course would result in the admission of many unqualified students. As a result, any middle school graduate who fails to be admitted to one of the recognized higher schools which serve as nurseries to the Imperial universities must attend either a public or private university. While in some rare cases this is no great handicap (to those who gain admission to Keio University or Waseda University, for example), for the great majority it means that there will certainly be no easy road to success, and in normal times not even a reasonable assurance of lucrative employment, for government offices as well as the great commercial houses and professional offices in many cases give preference to graduates from the Imperial universities. It may indeed be taken as an axiom that certain key posts in the civil service and teaching are barred to any other than graduates of the Imperial universities, which is a cause of considerable discontent among first-class graduates of the better private universities. Thus the pressure on the middle school student when he comes to take his final examination

is double—he must not only do well enough to be in the upper 20% who are able to gain admission to *some* higher schools, but he must strive to be among the upper 4% who are accepted by one of the higher schools with Imperial university recognition. The realization therefore of what it may mean for his whole life comes to depend upon the outcome of a single examination taken at the age of approximately 18. This is something that few students of the West can appreciate to the degree that it is felt by the Japanese middle school boys. The result is an intensive effort designed primarily, and indeed almost exclusively, to memorizing notes that will help the candidate to win success in the examinations. The effect of this prodigious effort upon the physical and nervous system cannot fail to be detrimental; the likelihood of warping the student's attitude towards life a serious danger, and the educational value probably nil. Yet, given the limited accommodation offered by the higher schools and universities and the national ambition for education, some restriction of numbers is imperative and up to the present no more satisfactory method has been evolved than that offered by the competitive examination. Until increased facilities for higher education are provided this drain upon the nervous and physical energy of the most intelligent youth of the country will presumably continue to the national and individual detriment. Yet, to provide still more higher schools and universities would probably aggravate quite seriously Japan's social problem, as there are already too many unemployed university graduates among the "white-collared salarymen" today.

The Japanese higher schools are for men only, and the average age on entrance is 18-19. The majority of the higher schools offer a preparatory course (which is essentially the same as that of the middle schools), and a higher or regular course of three years which is designed according to the official statement "for the purpose of completing higher general education . . . and of fostering the spirit of national morality." It is also of course designed in the vast majority of cases to prepare the students to take examina-

tions which will admit them to the universities rather than to prepare them for life's demands.

In 1894 an effort was made to convert the higher schools into institutions designed to give a form of education that would be fairly complete in itself. A course in law was therefore added in the Higher School in Kyoto, and a course in engineering in Kumamoto, but the experiment proved a failure. The students would have none of it. They realized that the real rewards were reserved for the graduates of the universities, and so to that goal they directed all their efforts. Very soon the higher schools, in practice if not in theory, reverted to their present status of preparatory schools for the universities. The following table justifies this and the preference for the Imperial universities:—

Students in the Tokyo Imperial University ...	1,858
Students in the Kyoto Imperial University ...	1,146
Students in the Tohoku Imperial University...	341
Students in the Kyushu Imperial University...	349
Students in the Hokkaido Imperial Uni- versity	7
Students in the government universities	247
Students in the public or private univer- sities	51
Students in the universities in the colonies ...	7
Pupils in other schools	6
Those engaged in business	3
Reserve officer cadets.....	2
Government or school officials	5
Those who were studying by themselves.....	656
Those whose conditions were unknown.....	200
Those who died	5
Total	4,883

The following table illustrates statistically the higher school activities at the time of the last report of the Department of Education:—

Schools	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils in 3 year course	No. of Applicants for 3 year course	No. Admitted
Government Higher Schools (3 year course only)	24	1,019	15,848	824	155
Government Higher Schools, Preparatory courses and 3 year course	1	64	471	—	—
Public High Schools both courses	2	80	613	1,460	306
Private High Schools both courses	4	196	792	1,387	311

Admission to the higher schools is confined (a) to those who are graduates of the preparatory (middle school) course of the higher school to which application is made, (b) to those who have completed the fourth year of the middle school course, or (c) to those who in the opinion of the Minister of Education have equivalent attainments. These the higher school naturally select from the qualified applicants, very few for whom they have accommodation.

Admission to a high school exempts the student from military training until his 28th year, when he can volunteer to do one year's service in lieu of the usual period of two years.

The course of study in the high schools depends upon the ultimate objective of the students. In general it is divided into a literature course and a science course, although some modifications are allowed in special circumstances. In each course two foreign languages are studied by the majority of the students, although only one is compulsory. Those who do not take the second language must substitute some other subject.

Although a great deal of stress is laid upon foreign languages (usually English and either French or German, with Latin being allowed optionally for those who intend to study law), the standards attained are not in general considered satisfactory. There is a good deal of thought being given to this subject and a growing tendency to advise students to

specialize in one foreign language and attempt to gain a sound knowledge in that rather than a smattering of two.

The subjects and hours of study per week in the Literature course are as follows :

Curriculum	First Year	Second Year	Third Year
Morals	1	1	1
National language and Chinese Classics	6	5	5
First Foreign language	9	8	8
Second Foreign language	(4)	(4)	(4)
History	3	5	4
Geography	2	—	—
Outline of Philosophy	—	—	3
Psychology and Logic	—	2	2
Legislation and Economics	—	2	2
Mathematics	3	—	—
Natural science	2	3	—
Gymnastics	3	3	3
 Total	 29 (33)	 29 (33)	 28 (32)

In the Science course the emphasis is shifted somewhat, as will be seen from the following schedule :

Curriculum	First Year	Second Year	Third Year
Morals	1	1	1
National Language and Chinese Classics	4	2	—
First Foreign Language	8	6	6
Second Foreign Language	(4)	(4)	(4)
Mathematics	4	4	4 & (2)
Physics	—	3	5
Chemistry	—	3	5
Botany and Zoology	2	2	4
Mineralogy and Geology	2	—	—
Psychology	—	2	—
Legislation and Economics	2	—	—
Drawing	2	3	(2)
Gymnastics	3	3	3
 Total	 28 (32)	 28 (32)	 28 (32)

From an examination of this curriculum it will at once appear that Japanese students study certain subjects in the higher schools that are not generally taken up before the university among western nations. Psychology, logic, mineralogy, zoology, and economics, are not in most coun-

tries to be found in the curriculum of any institutions below college rank. This, of course, does not mean that the Japanese student matures more quickly than his western confrère for the age of admission to Japanese high schools is approximately the same as for Western colleges. The Japanese academic career is however very much longer—a fact that is due to some extent at least to the difficulties of acquiring that elementary tool of instruction, the written language.

Tuition fees of ¥80 (\$40 or £8 at par) a year are charged in most of the higher schools, although the private higher schools have no invariable rule on this subject. Here, as in all branches of Japanese education, many of the students whose families' fortunes would not permit them to attend high school, are assisted by wealthy benefactors who in many cases have had some feudal or historic connection with the family of the beneficiary. In Japan, as in Scotland, there are few charitable causes so quick to arouse sympathy as the impecunious youth fired with academic ambition. Not all such aspirants can be sure of assistance, but benefactions of such a nature are not at all uncommon and may perhaps be said to be more frequently found in Japan than in any other country, with the possible exception of Scotland. In spite of this wide-spread generosity, however, the large majority of the students in the higher schools are sons of comparatively well-to-do families, their fathers holding in most cases official or professional posts.

Admission to the Imperial universities from the higher schools does not entail the bitter struggle that marked the progress from the middle school to the higher school except for the marginal students. A far larger percentage of higher school graduates are able to obtain admission to the universities than is so with middle school students applying for admission to the higher schools. In fact, all higher school graduates are entitled to enter some university or other. In a normal year all would be admitted if many did not persist in trying, often repeatedly, to enter some university of their choice, such as the Imperial universities of Tokyo and

Kyoto.

GENERAL STUDIES AND STATISTICS

In Japan the name university is given to institutions of higher learning which usually consist of one or more faculties and which must include provisions for post-graduate study. Where more than one faculty has been organized the post-graduate students in the different faculties may be brought together in a University Hall. In many instances the universities have also established preparatory courses.

Japanese universities are divided into four categories, Imperial universities, government universities, public universities and private universities. In the year 1936 there were in Japan:—

6	Imperial Universities	(Tokyo, Kyoto, Tohoku, Kyushu, Hokkaido and Osaka)
12	Government Universities	
2	Public Universities	
25	Private Universities	

Imperial universities are established by the government and consist of a University Hall and various faculties as determined by Imperial Ordinance. The following table gives the statistics of attendance at the Imperial universities for the year 1933-34—the latest figures published.

	Professors & Lecturers Total	Students Total	Graduates Total	Applicants for Admission Total	Numbers admitted. Total
Imperial University of Tokyo	672	8,269	2,286	5,297	2,726
Imperial University of Kyoto	528	5,710	1,319	2,389	1,958
Tohoku Imperial Uni- versity	254	1,612	473	875	553
Kyushu Imperial Uni- versity	262	1,949	550	1,113	658
Hokkaido Imperial University	296	2,351	690	3,923	752
Osaka Imperial Univer- sity	196	1,135	243	608	375
Total	2,208	21,026	5,561	14,205	7,022

The Imperial University of Tokyo is the oldest and therefore considered traditionally the most important university in Japan. It illustrates the form of organization adopted by the other Universities, and is therefore described here in some detail.

The University consists of a University Hall, a library and the following seven faculties :

Law,

Medicine, with Hospitals and Dispensaries attached,

Engineering,

Literature, incorporating an Institute for Historical Compilation,

Science, with a Botanical Garden and Marine Laboratory,

Agriculture, including forests, farms and an Institute for Training Agricultural School Teachers.

Economics.

The Tokyo Imperial University further includes the Institute for the Study of Infectious Diseases, the Institute of Aeronautics, the Tokyo Astronomical Observatory, and the Earthquake Research Institute.

The other Imperial Universities are organized in much the same way, though on a somewhat smaller scale.

The government universities are established by the Government, but have only one faculty. There are at the present time thirteen such universities which are as follows :

The Tokyo University of Commerce

The Kobe University of Commerce

The Tokyo University of Literature and Science

The Hiroshima University of Literature and Science

The Niigata University of Medicine

The Okayama University of Medicine

The Chiba University of Medicine

The Kanazawa University of Medicine

The Nagasaki University of Medicine

The Kumamoto University of Medicine

The Nagoya University of Medicine

The Tokyo University of Engineering

The Tokyo Kogyo Daigaku (Polytechnic University).

TOKYO UNIVERSITY OF COMMERCE

The Tokyo University of Commerce consists of the one faculty of commerce, a preparatory course, a library, a special department of commerce and an institute for training commercial school teachers. The table on p. 270 shows the attendance at the Tokyo University of Commerce for the years 1928-34.

The other Government universities each have, in addition to the faculty of Medicine, an attached hospital and a library, while the universities at Chiba, Kanazawa and Nagasaki have a special department of pharmacy. The following table shows the attendance at the seven public Universities of Medicine during the year 1933-34.

	Professors & Lecturers (Total)	Students (Total)	Graduates (Total)	Applicants for admission (Total)	Those admitted. (Total)
Niigata University of Medicine	41	330	63	126	91
Okayama University of Medicine	41	447	94	158	114
Chiba University of Medicine	52	641	147	866	191
Kanazawa University of Medicine	57	477	109	549	138
Nagasaki University of Medicine	61	499	125	657	127
Kumamoto University of Medicine	38	535	72	112	107
Nagoya University of Medicine	57	376	100	88	88
Total	347	3,103	710	2,556	856

Public universities are established by public bodies other than the Imperial Government. The two public universities are :

The Osaka University of Commerce
The Kyoto University of Medicine.

The organization of the public universities follows the type established by the government universities, but the quality of the staff and the type of work done are generally considered to be less satisfactory. The following table for the public universities corresponds to those already given for the Imperial and government universities.

OSAKA UNIVERSITY OF COMMERCE

	Professors & Lecturers	Students	Graduates	Applicants for Admission	Those admitted
1932-34	* 57 * 1	767	228	963	252

* Foreigners

PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES OF MEDICINE

	Professors & Lecturers	Students	Graduates	Applicants for Admission	Those admitted
Kyoto University of Medicine ...	34	665	170	1,354	183

Private universities may be established by individuals or organizations approved by the Department of Education. The standards imposed by the Department are progressively rising, and the number of universities is increasing, but slowly. The following table gives some idea of the scale upon which Japan's private universities are now operating.

	Prof. & Lec.	Students	Graduates	Applicants	Number admitted
Keio Gijuku University	279	6,614	2,012	5,062	2,276
Waseda	370	7,986	2,715	8,510	3,102
Meiji	160	3,710	1,261	1,898	1,518
Hosei	177	2,396	860	1,464	1,097
Chuo	146	2,408	850	1,137	887
Nihon	331	4,186	1,203	2,833	2,047
Kokugakuin	89	561	213	389	252
Doshisha	91	1,459	409	813	590
Tokyo Jikeikai " University of Medicine	64	1,273	352	2,785	350
Ryukoku University	86	714	240	314	244
Otani	80	512	157	234	175
Senshu	134	887	175	650	510
Rikkyo	115	1,423	425	800	483
Ritsumeikan	129	1,015	365	739	631
Kansai	126	1,482	383	891	683
Takushoku	97	781	285	414	367
Rissho	95	581	124	145	144
Komazawa	63	484	178	117	110
Tokyo University of Agriculture...	72	588	213	557	272
Nihon University of Medicine	55	975	284	1,944	332
Koyasan University	48	215	96	95	89
Taisho	115	588	184	179	175
Toyo	71	304	107	204	119
Jochi	72	217	78	120	101
Kwansai Gakuin	25	401	180	350	237
Totals	3,090	41,570	13,349	32,744	16,791

GENERAL

The private universities vary greatly in size and organization. Waseda University, for example, has ten faculties, while several of those listed have but one. The standards of work done in the different institutions still vary considerably, although the Department of Education is doing what it can to get the more backward institutions to raise their standards of instruction. Several of the universities listed have been established with foreign aid and influence. Such institutions are Rikkyo or St. Paul's (American Episcopal Church and Church Missionary Society), Doshisha (American Congregational), Kwansai Gakuin (United Church of Canada and M. E. Church South) and Jochi (Roman Catholic).

The foregoing statistics give an idea of the scope upon which higher education is organized in Japan. Indeed, as far as numbers are concerned only one country in the world (America) exceeds Japan in its supply of universities. The question naturally arises therefore whether or not the work that is done in these institutions offers a satisfactory completion to the training of the young men of Japan.

The most obvious problem associated with the relations of the Japanese student towards the universities of his country is that of admission. There are more than enough places in Japan's universities to absorb all graduates from the higher schools, but there is the most severe competition for admission to the best universities. Admission to an Imperial university marks the great ambition of every eager student. As has been pointed out in earlier pages, it is only possible to achieve this goal by winning initial success in a large number of earlier examinations, from the majority of which only some 10 to 20 per cent. of the competitors emerge successful. An example of the difficulties encountered by the Japanese students in working towards their ultimate aim to be admitted to an Imperial University is given by Dr. Washio in an article in the "Japan Advertiser" of the 3rd of September, 1930:—

"To see how hellish it (the competition) is, one may read for instance the report of the Musashino Higher School. It is one of a few private Higher Schools established outside of the Government Higher Schools with the object of preparing boys for the Imperial Universities. By concentrating its effort on that purpose this school had in its first trial the record success of 100%, but in order to obtain this result 91 students who were originally enrolled in the school through a careful selective entrance examination had to be reduced to 38 at the time of graduation: of the rest 27 had to be dropped behind by the class examinations of the school itself, 19 were obliged to leave the school and 7 died from over-study. This is merely an illustration of the suffering that is involved in the general statement that only 10% of the applicants for the Government Higher Schools succeeded."

The reason that the Imperial universities are so highly preferred becomes clearly evident from an examination of the academic history of the leading figures in business, journalism, official life and the professions throughout Japan. Particularly in the civil service is the percentage of Imperial university graduates very high, and these men naturally tend in turn to look with favour upon applicants from their own institutions. Thus it is estimated that an Imperial university graduate has at least twice the chance of finding a satisfactory post as has a graduate of equal ability from a less prominent institution. Until the recent boom connected with Japan's overseas expansion, figures showed that about 40% of the graduates of the Imperial Universities succeeded in obtaining positions within the first few months of leaving college, but that only about 20% of the graduates from other universities were equally successful. This problem of the unemployed university graduate was becoming most grave in Japan until the development of 1931 and the following years in Manchoukuo, and the trade boom which they brought with them, and which opened a large number of new posts to active and ambitious young Japanese. It can easily be imagined that the keen disappointment of being unable to find work after going through the dreadful examination ordeal that marks the Japanese

educational system was sufficient in itself to cause a great deal of unrest among young university men. This problem, although possibly alleviated for the time being, will undoubtedly recur in the future, for the number of students entering the universities every year shows no sign of declining, whereas it is not probable that an equal number of new posts in Manchoukuo, China, the South Seas or in the business world will annually appear.

When he reaches the university, the Japanese student is not trained to express himself in original creative activities. The emphasis of his whole academic career has been to memorize, and this tends to continue throughout his university course. Thus, the fields in which Japanese university students have made the best records as compared with students from other countries are those in which memory plays the most important part, namely medicine and applied science. The Japanese system of examinations in schools is responsible for this. The memorizing of undigested knowledge is the key to progress from one school to that of a higher grade. Hence the premium and undue strain on the memory.

Within the universities there is a general assumption that after the first two years at least the students should in all cases be allowed to pass their examinations. It is of course true that they have already gone through a long drawn-out and strenuous period of testing and selection, and that in any case it could hardly be expected that very many students who had survived that ordeal would be able to produce satisfactory examination results in their university course. There is, however, the additional element which is undoubtedly considered; that in the majority of cases these students have come to the university after a great deal of hard work and after considerable sacrifice on the part of their families and parents. Their whole career depends upon their obtaining the university degree, and in consequence few instructors are ever prepared to plough a student in such circumstances, especially in the private universities where good and bad get through the elastic meshes of

a net which financial considerations make it almost impossible for the authorities to change. From this proceed such derogatory epithets as "commercialized education," and "instruction factories," so often heard concerning what is unquestionably a pernicious system.

STUDENT LIFE IN THE UNIVERSITIES

The life of the students in the average Japanese university would not be considered satisfactory by the typical western student. In the first place, the majority of the buildings and equipment are not adequate for the demands placed upon them in most of the universities. The rigid rules, moreover, with regard to heating, which prescribe the date upon which the furnaces or more primitive heating apparatus is to be started (usually on December 1), and regardless of weather conditions, results in most cases in making it necessary for the students to work for weeks, if not months, in rooms that would be uncomfortably chilly for the average western student. Even the Japanese students themselves, although accustomed to somewhat similar conditions in their homes, find it necessary to wear extra clothing, yet even so they often fall ill from the cold and draughty classrooms. This is also unquestionably one of the causes of the heavy toll from tuberculosis among students.

Those students who are not living at home live for the most part in dormitories or boarding-houses near the universities, in which they lack many of the comforts that would be considered essential in the west. In some of the universities an attempt is made to regulate and organize the boarding-houses and dormitories, while in others such supervision is left to the police. From reports, however, it would seem that the police are more interested in the students' social activities and political views than they are in their physical welfare, though their physical well-being is not entirely overlooked.

The fraternity system as it is organized in America is unknown in Japan. But there are a large number of clubs for

discussion or social purposes organized by the students. More even than the Americans, the Japanese are a nation of "joiners" and this fact becomes very apparent even in their college days. Athletics has come in recent years to play a very much more important part in the life of the Japanese university student. Here the American rather than the British attitude towards sport prevails, if indeed such a clear distinction can still be drawn, which is doubtful. Inter-collegiate baseball, association football, rugby football and other games play a real part in the life of many undergraduates, but there is a tendency to look upon defeat as a disgrace, which is to be highly deplored.

In all university activities only the university male students participate. It is true that a few of the universities admit women to some of their classes, and that these women students have a more or less organized life of their own, but the universities in general are organized for young men. Few college activities ever consider the two sexes at the same time. In Japanese education the sexes are definitely segregated. Such clubs and societies as are common in the co-educational institutions in other parts of the world are almost entirely unknown in Japan. This is of course in accordance with the traditions of the country. Further, in his own home also, the student would have no free and unconventional contacts with members of the opposite sex of his own or any other social standing. This condition is of course unnatural, and the result is that the university student, when seeking relaxation in the company of members of the other sex, tends to patronize the public dance-halls, the cafés, and even less reputable places, despite the strict police regulations. There, many obtain something of the gaiety and excitement that are found at dances and on other such social occasions by the American and British students. It is true that the Japanese police have made efforts to restrict the access of university and higher school students to the cafés and bars of the more brightly-lit sections of the cities, but the student easily solves this problem by changing his uniform for some non-academic dress. It is of course diffi-

cult to offer an opinion on the Japanese traditional attitude towards the relations between the sexes. But it is not difficult to estimate the dangers that the average university student is likely to run in trying to find relief from the strain of his academic work in the only centres that at present are open to him in the amusement, excitement and stimulation that are natural among all young men of his age.

It may therefore be said without any fear of contradiction that the present system of Japanese education forces students to do clandestinely much that the students of other countries are allowed and even encouraged to do quite openly. But this is in keeping with Japan's traditions which tend to segregate the sexes in youth. It is, however, noteworthy that even many of the older type of Japanese are today opposing this rigid respect of a tradition which is not keeping pace with Japan's adoption of so much from the West. As for the moderns they openly revolt. The attitude of the Ministry of Education in this delicate matter is one of "safety first." Hence the strict regulations which the Ministry claims to justify as the safest policy in the transitional period.

"DANGEROUS THOUGHTS"

A great deal of attention has been paid both by the educational authorities of Japan and by others in positions of responsibility to the growth of radicalism among the students in the universities. The control of student thought is one of the constant problems on the agenda of all educational authorities in Japan. There is even a special department at the Ministry of Education to study the matter. This fact would seem to indicate that in spite of the tremendous emphasis placed on training in morals throughout the whole of the educational system, didactic instruction is not in itself sufficient.

The causes of radicalism in the universities are manifold, and it is certainly not advisable to consider this subject without first defining in some measure at least the term "radi-

calism" as applied to Japanese students. For the most part this term as used in Japan would represent approximately the point of view of the academic liberals of the west. It is true that for a period during the "twenties" a number of Japanese university students gloried in the name of socialists, or even communists, but it may be greatly doubted whether any considerable percentage of these young radicals did in fact have any serious understanding of the principles or the causes which they espoused. For the most part the radicalism in the universities is the outcome of dissatisfaction with the educational system and its fruits, particularly the fear of unemployment after graduation. Having suffered through some eighteen to twenty years of the stiffest academic training in the world, Japanese students in their last year at the university are faced with the very definite possibility of being thrown upon the world without any occupation that could be considered a recompense for their really prodigious exertions. With the Japanese tradition of direct action to support them, student dissatisfaction very often flares into student revolt, and in consequence there develop student strikes which are so interesting a feature of the Japanese academic world.

UNIVERSITIES IN TOKYO

The following list shows the disproportionate number of government and private universities in Tokyo. They make Tokyo Japan's intellectual centre. The provinces challenge this centring of so many universities in the capital as unfair to the country's students as a whole. A recent Minister of Education (Mr. Hirao) proposed therefore a redistribution, but his plan miscarried. This is largely because of the political and other influences involved. Some of the numerous private universities have been founded for so long, and as nurseries to the political parties, are now so strongly entrenched that they are even able to threaten the security of a Minister of Education.

CHAPTER XIV

HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

The problem of health in Japanese schools has already been briefly referred to. That it is a real problem is attested by the growing attention which is being given to its manifold aspects by the education authorities and by outside observers. There can be no doubt that the three most obviously detrimental features of the Japanese educational system from the standpoint of student health are, first, the strain on the eyesight imposed by the detailed work that must be done in reading and writing the complicated Chinese characters ; second, the lack of properly-built and well-heated schools ; and third, the deficiencies in the typical Japanese diet which, in spite of improvements during recent years, still persist.

As regards the difficulties in handling the Chinese characters there is little that it would be profitable to say, and nothing apparently that can be done. The characters are there, and as far as it is possible to forecast they will continue to be used in approximately their present form. So long as this is true Japanese students will suffer from weak eyes and the typical student will be a young man or young woman wearing spectacles. It is not at all uncommon to see 50 or even 75 per cent. of the students in middle schools or girls' high schools wearing spectacles. In the spring of 1937 it was reported that over one million two hundred thousand students in Japanese schools wore spectacles.

Efforts are being made to replace the old wooden schools, which were the typical buildings of the early period of modern education in Japan, by new concrete structures designed in accordance with the latest knowledge regarding the valuable properties of sunlight and fresh air. This

movement is being hindered by lack of funds, but it is nevertheless taking place at a rather surprising rate, and it is not at all uncommon to see even in comparatively poor country districts school-buildings that are admirable in construction and arrangement. It is nevertheless true that the Japanese educational authorities do not appreciate the value of warmth in the maintenance of the pupils' health. Not only are the schools strictly limited with regard to the number of weeks in each year during which they are permitted to use their heating system, but even when it is used the temperature is frequently kept at too low a point or too high. This is in some cases at least done intentionally, and without relation to the cost of proper heating. Some spartan authorities feel that it would be unwise to provide students with comfort in their school-rooms that would exceed the conditions they can expect at home. Thus to the average foreigner entering a classroom, even in the most up-to-date Tokyo schools in winter, the temperature is often unpleasantly cold; and while the Japanese students do not find the conditions nearly so unpleasant as would occidental children, there is nevertheless a definite connection between the long hours spent in these cold rooms and the appalling incidence of tuberculosis and sinus, throat and lung diseases among the youth of Japan. One foreign writer has described the results of this situation in the following words:—

“ As an example of the ravages of tuberculosis among Japanese students a striking instance was offered in October, 1932, when 1000 students of the Ichioka Girls' School and Sumiyoshi Middle School, both in Osaka, were medically examined. 10% of the boys and girls were found to have a persistent fever from 37.1 to 37.4 degrees. Dr. Ono, who examined the students, stated that further examination by means of Ræntgen rays and other medical apparatus showed that most of those included in the 10% were cases of latent tuberculosis. He added that he is sure that if students of other schools were examined similar results would be obtained. This is in the middle grade schools. Due to the exacting demands of entrance examinations for the higher schools and universities, it is not unre-

sonable to assume that the percentage of sufferers from T.B. is still higher in these institutions. It is noteworthy, too, that on examination, in the spring of 1932, of the primary school teachers in the Fukagawa district of Tokyo, 60% were found to be suffering either from incipient T.B. or diseases of the respiratory organs. Speaking in the Diet some time ago Dr. Kanasugi stated that though the official figures of those suffering in Japan from tuberculosis was set at 130,000 it must be several times as large.”⁽¹⁾

It is not to be supposed that the authorities are making no effort to correct the condition described above. During the early years of the modern educational system the tendency was for those in charge of the work to stress the moral and intellectual development of the child and to relegate his physical welfare very largely to the background. Traditionally, of course, the Japanese scholar, like his counterpart in China, was uninterested in physical development, and made no effort to fortify his own physique.

More recently, however, this attitude has changed, and modern educators are beginning to recognize as fully in Japan as they do in other countries that a weak physique is a handicap to proper mental development. At the present time considerable care is being exercised in the selection of sites for schools. Thus, in applying for permission to establish a school it is necessary for the founders to state the topography of the district, present an analysis of the available drinking-water (in country districts), and to make proper provision for an exercise ground, athletics, military drill and play. The specifications of the school buildings including detailed statements of sanitary arrangements, window-space and other matters of similar importance are also required. Where dormitories are provided, similar information must also be supplied and particular emphasis is placed upon the provision of ample bathing and washing facilities. Physical drill is carried out in all schools under the direction of supervisors chosen for that purpose, and a serious effort is generally being made to

(1) Thomas: “*Japan's National Education*,” p. 54.

see that all students obtain the exercise and fresh air that are required to keep them in good health. Nevertheless, it is unquestionably true that the cold and draughty school-rooms which are still common throughout the Empire do have a detrimental effect upon the physical well-being of the students. It is also noteworthy that the students' compulsory uniforms in most schools are unhealthy. The fact that they are badly cut and ungainly in appearance, and that they are seldom or never pressed, and not frequently cleaned, is important both æsthetically and hygienically. But the rather light and shoddy garments that are provided as winter uniforms are definitely unsatisfactory as an outer covering for students living in the cold and damp Japanese winter. For this reason those students who can afford it come to school in winter in their *kimono* and *bakama* which are warmer than their school uniforms. Few schools object to this practice. From the æsthetic point of view there is nothing whatever to be said for these uniforms, and it seems most unfortunate that they were ever introduced, although they are unquestionably more practical in so far as facilitating the ease of movement in a modern city is concerned than would be the traditional but more attractive costume of Japan. Girls' uniforms are on the whole more satisfactory than those of the boys, and though in state schools uniformity of dress is demanded, in some private schools the girls are permitted to express their personality in their dress, though always within modest limits of course.

The question of diet in Japan has been examined in great detail by several competent observers. There is no doubt that the Japanese diet contains far too large a percentage of carbohydrates and starches, and some at least of the unusually large number of digestive disturbances common among Japanese may be traced to this condition. Within recent years, however, the Japanese diet has been changing. More milk and green vegetables are being used. Then the enviable variety of fish in the national diet is not losing its popularity, and fresh fruits are being employed to a degree as never before. The result is that the rising generation of

Japanese is very definitely taller and better formed than any generation of the past. Yet, in the spring of 1937, the military authorities claimed that there was a reduced vitality among students. Statistics reveal that there has been an average gain of at least two inches in height since 1900. Several interesting facts are to be found in connection with this change, facts which would tend to prove that the changing social conditions as well as changing diet have produced an advantageous result. In a statement recently put out by the Physical Culture Section of the Ministry of Education it was shown that recent tendencies in the young people of Japan include changes which have an æsthetic value and also produce happier physical results. The tendency has been for the increased growth to be centred in the lower limbs. The Japanese young man and woman have been growing taller chiefly due to the development of their legs. An interesting finding in this connection is that young people in the city are generally taller than those in the country, and the larger the city the taller the student. The rate of increase in growth is, moreover, higher in girls than in boys. In explaining this change the Physical Culture Section of the Monbusho gives part of the credit to the use of foreign clothes which permit greater freedom of movement, but emphasizes more particularly the value of physical education, the improvement in diet, and the decline in the custom of sitting on the feet which undoubtedly retarded the development of the legs in earlier generations. Rising standards of living, the introduction of foreign clothes and customs, the changing diet, athletics and physical education, all undoubtedly play a part in the improvement in the physique of the average Japanese student. It is nevertheless still true that a great deal remains to be done, and that in particular attention must be paid to the extremely heavy mortality from pulmonary diseases.

CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL AND ADULT EDUCATION

CONTROL OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

THE Ministry of Education is charged with the control of social education. To do this it maintains constant touch with the permanent officials in the prefectural governments. Further, the Ministry systematically directs well-organized national movements in collaboration with those schools, libraries, museums, etc. which come under its jurisdiction, as well as with the prefectural authorities and their schools, libraries, museums etc. The Ministry is also strictly controlling the committees on social education in all villages and towns, while cooperating with the village and city schools and other organizations working to promote social education in any way of which it approves. Its chief aim in this work is to get all the nation's organizations working together and in harmony to achieve what in recent years the Ministry has come to conceive as one of its most pressing tasks.

SOCIAL AND ADULT EDUCATION

Japan has always believed that the source of the child's education is the home. This principle is cherished in their family system, which the Japanese consider the rock on which their national character, strength and security are founded. The conception of the Emperor as the Father of the Nation and of the family centred in the Imperial House is a fundamental tenet of the Japanese people. It gives them their faith in the state, and therefore in themselves. There are today certain signs that the Japanese family system is

weakening in places. This is due largely to the industrialization of the country and the consequent migration of the rural population to the industrial districts. It is also caused by the influences of foreign peoples and their increasing contact with the Japanese youth. Then there is the individualism which results from foreign influences in education etc., and especially those from the U. S. A. It is these trends which have helped to produce certain abuses in Japan in recent years, and also certain violent reactions in political quarters. The more conservative are fearful that these various influences may cause the Japanese family system to crumble unless they are stopped. For this reason efforts are being made to shut out quite a number of what the older generation in particular considers as pernicious influences, and responsible for the corruption of Japan's youth. The Department of Education is therefore gravely concerned with this question, and in recent years it has done quite a lot to counter these influences, especially by an endeavour to reinstate the family in the revered position it has traditionally held. In spite of these foreign influences, however, the family is still the proud unit of Japan's strength, and this is never seen so clearly as when the nation believes itself threatened in any way from without, as since 1934.

FREE EDUCATION AND THE HOME

It must be frankly recognized that the growth of Japan's public education has inadvertently contributed much to the threatened breakdown of the family system. Free education has taken so much responsibility from the home, and charged the state with the training of the children. Today thousands of peasant children leave their homes for the city schools who in the past would have remained on their parents' farms. This change has taken place to such an extent, and so quickly in Japan, that it would seem to some that the home has little or nothing further to do with the education of its children. The Ministry of Education has therefore sought in some measure

during recent years to remedy this. In its endeavour to eradicate various social evils, it has set itself to take stock of the home, and as far as possible to help parents to assess their responsibilities anew. It has consequently planned to re-instate in their former place of honour those nationally healthy customs associated with home-life, and to improve family life so that it might not become corrupt in its endeavour to adapt itself to the rapidly evolving civilization in Japan. The Ministry considers this the most pressing problem in Japan's education today. Minister of Instruction Hirao stressed this in his proposed reforms of 1936. That it is a grave task none who knows Japan can deny, and the special department created in the Ministry to meet the situation has set its best brains to seek a solution.

THE "IE" OR HOME IN JAPAN

For the reader to understand something of the problem involved it is necessary for him to have an understanding of the "Ie" or home as a unit in Japan. The Japanese family is such a real thing that it supersedes the individual. The father, mother and child must sacrifice themselves in the family interests wherever necessary. Japanese history and literature illustrate this principle fully. This explains to the West the seemingly incomprehensible voluntary sale of daughters to prostitution to help the indigent family, or for a brother's education, which in turn is expected to be for the good of the family as a whole, honorably and economically. It explains the untold sacrifices that parents will sometimes make for their children's higher education, a sacrifice which often proves hardly worth while, when either the child is incapable of profiting from higher education, or when economically he would be better off by working as an artisan instead of flooding the "white-collar market." It explains also the union of the families in marriage rather than of the individuals, and the lasting affection among the children of a family, which is none the less real because it is not easily perceived as westerners prefer to have it. With this affection goes the obligation, often a very onerous

one, of helping all the members of the family where the better-off members can do so. This makes the position of the eldest son in the Japanese family one which carries with it responsibilities that few foreign students of Japan ever fully understand. But with all this the Japanese home is even more hermetically closed than the French or Latin home-life. Because of this it is often in grave danger of being misjudged. One thing, however, may be taken as certain. It is that generally speaking there is a loyalty among the members of the Japanese family such as is difficult to equal in any other country. Since, therefore, the family is nothing more in the Japanese mind than the state, it is easy to understand that this same loyalty is extended to the larger family in turn, and of which the Emperor Himself is considered the Father. Hence the force of the traditional Japanese patriotism.

Having thus explained the Japanese national cohesion, it is worth while prosecuting this explanation still further by considering in greater detail the

JAPANESE FAMILY SYSTEM

From the earliest days the family system has been regarded by the Japanese as the very foundation of their social order. In olden times those who descended from one ancestor (Sosen) bore the same family name (Uji), and those families with the same family name formed in turn a clan (Shizoku). Then these families formed together a village which developed as the nucleus of national society and the state. This helps further to understand why the Japanese conception of the state has always remained as nothing more than the extension of the family. Added to this was the fact that each generation usually succeeded the other in its craft or occupation.⁽¹⁾ They also worshipped a tutelary deity (Ujigami), and collectively prayed to this god for the prosperity of their clan. From the beginning of the nation there is consequently an unbroken succession of the family. It is

(1) *Thomas and Koyama, Commercial History of Japan, Tokyo, 1936, p. 69.*

not out of place to add here that this is unquestionably the most potent reason why the Japanese resent the marriage of any of their sons with foreign women, more of course than they do the union of their womenfolk to foreigners, which however, most Japanese resent also.

Further to this it may be said that there is the unbroken lineage of the elder sons of the families, like an apostolic succession as it were, leading the families and clans, and in turn the nation. These leaders the other members of the family consider it their duty to respect and obey, and even if respect is absent they must obey. In this obedience and respect is the germ of Shintoism which is so often misunderstood by foreign students of Japan. It is nothing more than the profound respect for the nation's elders throughout the ages, and raised to a cult by the Japanese people. If therefore we find the sons and daughters respecting so highly their parents, their elders' honour, occupation and stability, ought it to be surprising to find that in turn they strive for the promotion of that family's good name and fortune, and that they should consequently so shrink from besmirching the family escutcheon as to believe at times that suicide alone can wipe out what the Japanese consider a heinous crime? Such a delinquent considers himself a rotten branch of the family tree that ought to be cut off, and be it said that the tradition is for the other members of the family to believe the same, and often to approve of his self-pruning by suicide. This in turn largely explains the Japanese attitude to suicide which the West cannot understand. With this profound appreciation of what family often provokes, it should be easy to understand that such incapable national customs as the veneration of ancestors, economically brotherly and sisterly affection, friendship out-artisan instead of artisan, camaraderie within the barracks and the explains also to a paternal employer, absence of quarrel than of the individuality (a Japanese virtue universally admired), children of a far-going loyalty to the Emperor for all He re is not easily perverted, are virtues which the ideal Japanese With this affection add to this the belief that the Emperor is

descended from the same ancestors as His subjects, and that the Imperial Family is considered the Head Family or "*Soke*" of Japan, and it should be easy to appreciate something of Japan's national strength, and the reason why she has risen to such pre-eminence in so relatively short a time. This will also explain why the Ministry of Education, along with all loyal Japanese subjects, is so concerned about the danger which today threatens the Japanese family system. All realize that if the family system goes in Japan, then almost everything of traditional value goes with it. It is in fact not too much to say that Japan stands or falls as a world power by her respect of her family system. Inseparable from the family system is of course the belief in the paternal conception of the Emperor. It is traditionally based on mutual affection and trust between the Ruler and His national family. For this reason the Emperor conceives of His people as members of one great family, and this conception has been held for nearly three thousand years in Japan. It is a conception in which loyalty and filial piety are one. The Japanese accept this principle in their family and national life as quite natural. If their belief is challenged in any way they show themselves proud of it. It is in fact the glory of their national spirit, and there can be no doubt that it explains also their fighting spirit, both on the field of battle and in any field where their honour is at stake. Yet this patriotism is something they feel but cannot explain.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE "NATIONAL MORALITY"

The Ministry's grave concern at the threatened decay of this national spirit in certain quarters is seen in most of its recent publications and announcements. It is at the same time deeply conscious of Japan's inability to counter this threatened decay in her social and national life without being accused of nationalism and malicious intentions aimed at other countries. Yet, no serious student of Japan will deny that it is in the main anything more than a keen desire first to set her own house in order. In fact, not only the

Ministry of Education but almost all leaders of thought in Japan see that something is wrong. Lack of cohesion among them how best to tackle the problem is chiefly responsible for the little progress made. As for the Ministry of Education the following is a brief survey of what it did in 1936.

PROVISIONS FOR SOCIAL EDUCATION

The key-note to all provisions for social education is found in the Imperial Rescript on Education given by Emperor Meiji, the full text of which is found elsewhere in this volume.⁽¹⁾ All subsequent provisions are merely considered as commentaries on this Rescript, which, when rightly understood and practised, embodies all that the most loyal Japanese wish to inculcate in future generations.

The more recent provisions which the Ministry has made to encourage social education are therefore based on the Rescript, and consequently in obedience to the Imperial Will. Among most recent movements are special lectures, courses of study, exhibitions etc. planned to combat pernicious influences. As more lasting educational efforts there have been established libraries, museums and social settlements. These provisions include also the training of boys and girls in the national enlightenment movement and provisions for the protection of young children outside the school from harmful influences. The Ministry has also paid considerable attention to the improvement of popular amusements, many of which were considered a snare to the morals of young people, and therefore undermining the national spirit of Japan. It has also devoted much thought and care to censoring the new literature, though many of the more liberal-minded Japanese believe that the Ministry has devoted too much thought to this special branch and that it has thereby gravely threatened liberty of thought.

MORAL EDUCATION AND CIVIC TRAINING

This branch of the Ministry's work is largely devoted to

(1) See p. 100.

fighting what we have referred to elsewhere as "Dangerous Thoughts" or solving the "Thought Problem." This problem has its origin in the increasing interest of Japanese students in Marxism, which interest is aggravated, in the opinion of the authorities, by the growing discontent resulting from increasing unemployment among the intelligentsia. The Ministry has taken the matter so much to heart as to create a special department for the study and fighting of all communistic influences. Here it is aided by the growing determination of the Ministry of Justice to eradicate communism. It considers that all such influences strike at the very heart of the Japanese family life. But it now sees that it is no good uprooting these evil influences unless it has something to sow in their place. Here it faithfully believes that the traditional family system if rightly understood adequately supplies the want. The Ministry is therefore offering lectures and opportunities for civic training, but though it appears under new names, what the Ministry is really endeavouring to inculcate is merely the Japanese family system revived and invigorated. Added to this civic training the Ministry is stressing the desirability of an intense training in Japan's history and spiritual culture, the need of economic solidarity of the State in matters of finance, national defence, industry and communications. In all the schools under its control the Ministry is insisting that special teachers should be appointed to give the required instruction. Along with this goes of course a stricter military training in the schools. All students from the middle school up are given military training, and five hours are allocated in the schedule for this each week under the name "Gymnastics." Military officers are attached to all the schools to give this training, and students are only excused from it on medical grounds. Even students of certain night-schools are not exempted. The students have their regular field-days, and they are trained as thoroughly as any students, with perhaps the exception of those in totalitarian states such as Italy, Germany and Russia. Still, this intenser military training is nothing more than a feature of the

nation's intention to develop its national spirit, and it would be an error to interpret Japan's efforts to effect a national revival as nothing more than an endeavour to increase students' military efficiency in the schools.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Foreign critics often ask if the Japanese do not marvel at the numerous Christian missionary bodies there are in the country. But they do not as much as might be expected, since in Buddhism they have so many sects, and therefore they seem to take it for granted that those who worship are entitled to do it in their own way. This probably accounts for the relative religious freedom there is in Japan. But the authorities wisely see that to permit religion to go hand in hand with education in the schools would be dangerous. They therefore insist on its being a subject apart so that education might not suffer at all from any internal disputes in the schools. All schools, including of course the Christian foundations, are consequently obliged to teach religion out of school hours. But for the adults, whose place in social life is already established, the Ministry offers special spiritual education, chiefly in keeping with the tenets of Shintoism of course, in order to make of the national spirit a more vital force than it has been of late years. But what the Ministry is attempting is nothing more than a revival to bring about a nation's self-awakening to the importance of its very existence. In this connection it is important to bear in mind that the Japanese do not regard Shintoism as a religion in the Western conception of the word, as was deduced from the controversy between the Ministry of Education on the Roman Catholic schools.⁽¹⁾

GENERAL CULTURE

It is natural that as the expression of some of these dangerous thoughts in Japan there has been heard the cry for equality of opportunity in education as the first step to a

(1) See pp. 131-133.

greater degree of equality in other directions. The Ministry has therefore found it necessary to supply some measure of adult education to those who were unable to obtain any or adequate education in their childhood. To achieve this, therefore, the Ministry has arranged special courses for adults in general culture, religion, philosophy, metaphysics, ethics, æsthetics, theology, history, sociology, psychology, pedagogy, politics, jurisprudence and literature. The widespread demand for such courses has surprised the Ministry, which has also provided courses for adults in such special subjects as physics, chemistry, zoology, botany, mineralogy, astronomy and geography. This preference for the natural sciences instead of the Japanese language, Chinese classics, history etc., has caused the Ministry to re-assess its provisions, so that now it is endeavouring to inculcate national ideals through the new courses of study, and as these new courses give promise of providing in turn the original inventions and devices of which Japan's growing industry so stands in need, the Ministry sees that by offering this special training the economic conditions of the country will also be improved and industry advanced. Thereby it believes that much of the cause of dangerous thoughts will be removed, and that by creating economic stability in the nation its moral equilibrium will be largely re-established.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The matter of vocational training has been treated fully elsewhere in connection with the Ministry's plans for changing Japan's educational system. It is therefore enough to say here that the Ministry is giving much attention to this branch of education. It sees in the training of future brides a healthy influence in the home. It has decided in fact to give much study to the education of women in general with a view to raising the standard of the home-life. The suffragist movement in Japan has done something to enforce this. The Ministry hopes also to avoid a good deal of overlapping, which, before vocational training, was found in many branches of Japan's social life. In industry also the

Ministry believes that there is much to do in vocational training in order to increase Japan's prestige in the industrial world.

INSTRUCTION IN SANITATION AND HYGIENE

Japan has recently discovered to its surprise that the increased stature among students has not meant a general improvement in health. This was a national shock, especially as it came at about the same time that in the Berlin Olympics of 1936 Japan had achieved such remarkable victories, and in swimming in particular. The Ministry therefore realizes that it avails the country little to have a relatively small group of athlete specialists if the general health of the nation is lower. The Ministry of War is more deeply concerned than anyone about the matter because it claims that the conscripts coming up for service are not of the same standard as in the past. Tuberculosis also seems to be making greater inroads than a few years ago. Then, the death-rate of infants in Japan is appallingly high. Already therefore the Ministry is doing something to raise the general standard of health, by supervising more strictly the students' health in school and out, and especially by helping women before and after child-birth. The whole problem is so formidable, however, that it is unlikely any tangible results will be effected until Japan creates a Ministry of Health to undertake a responsibility which with its far-reaching ramifications it seems unfair to expect the Ministry of Education to solve with any hope of lasting success.⁽¹⁾

EDUCATION IN AMUSEMENT AND TASTE

What the Ministry is trying to do in this branch is to provide healthy cinemas and plays, to exercise a strict censorship over imported amusements from countries whose traditions and standards are not those of Japan. It is endeavouring to

(1) At the time of going to press (July, 1937,) Prince Konoe, newly-appointed Premier, announces the Government's intention to create a Hygienic Department or Health Preservation Ministry.

train youth to shun the vulgar and to safeguard Japan's indigenous arts and refined tastes. It is also making strenuous efforts to help the people to see that Japan is a home of fine arts, and that the traditional tastes of the people are æsthetic, and that by cultivating them Japan will be more highly respected in the world. As has already been pointed out,⁽¹⁾ one aspect of this problem is of particular interest. It comes from the fact that foreign tourists visiting Japan are inclined to ask for what is shoddy. "Yokohama goods" are now becoming synonymous with what is un-Japanese because they are made specially for foreign tourists who do not understand Japanese art. The foreign tourists, it is said, demand the tawdry un-Japanese wares, and the Japanese merchants quite naturally supply them. This clash of economics and the æsthetic is not the least difficulty in the matter of purifying the nation's tastes, and the Ministry is at a loss what to do.

PROVISIONS FOR SOCIAL EDUCATION AND METHODS OF APPLYING THEM

The following are some of the practical methods the Ministry is applying to achieve some measure of success in its campaign to spread national ideals :—

I. PROVISIONS FOR HOME EDUCATION

i. COURSES OF STUDY FOR MOTHERS

It has already been said that the Ministry of Education is gravely concerned with the high infantile mortality in Japan and is making efforts to safeguard the mother before and after child-birth. It has in addition instructed the Imperial universities, medical faculties and women's higher normal schools to provide special courses of study for mothers to foster sound instruction in matters of child welfare, hygiene, and domestic science. So far, the Ministry's experiments have proved highly successful in all parts of the country, and there has been considerable response from Japanese mothers. Some have even attended the primary schools to seek the instruction of which they were deprived

(1) See p. 14.

as girls, due either to lack of educational provisions when they were young or to household duties which prevented their attending school.

TERMS AND HOURS

The problem of arranging courses of study for mothers at a time when they are free to profit from them is obviously a serious one. From the attempts made, the Ministry has found that from 1.30 p.m. to 3.30 p.m. is the best time for the majority. The course of study includes three or four subjects which are taught in fourteen or fifteen lectures each lasting about two hours.

SUBJECTS

The subjects chosen are those which are most likely to help the mothers to bring up their children satisfactorily in every way. The lectures are generally illustrated by films, lantern-slides and practical demonstrations. Each year the mothers themselves are asked what courses of study they would like included in the course, so that the Ministry induces them to collaborate with the lecturers in planning the course in order that it might meet the mothers' needs.

LECTURERS AND LECTURES

Men and women of the highest academic qualifications are chosen as lecturers. Many of them are recognized national authorities in their subjects, and opportunities are given to the mothers to consult them on questions concerning the lectures or their everyday problems. The Ministry's aim is therefore to make the courses so practical that they really do meet the mothers' needs.

STUDENTS

Though the Ministry has planned the courses of study for mothers, any women who show keenness to attend the lectures are encouraged to do so. The rate of attendance at the lectures is consequently quite high. In fact,

the experiment has proved so successful that the Ministry now intends to encourage the local self-governing bodies to undertake similar provisions. The Ministry is even planning to organize these courses for women into a recognized school with branches throughout the country.

2. CIRCULATING EXHIBITION AND LIBRARY FOR HOME EDUCATION

The Ministry has accumulated a large quantity of data on home education. These it classes under the following headings :—

1. religion in the home ;
2. education ;
3. observances (annual and monthly) ;
4. hygiene ;
5. welfare of babies ;
6. nursing.

The data include illustrations, diagrams, tables, photographs, models etc. These the Ministry circulates without much expense to even remote districts of the country.

3. IMPROVEMENT OF TOYS AND PICTURE-BOOKS

Japan is the greatest manufacturer of toys and picture-books in the world. The Ministry believes, however, that it is salutary to keep an eye on the toys and picture-books distributed to children with a view to guiding the child in its daily life. So important does the Ministry believe this to be that it has imposed upon the Bureau of Social and Adult Education the duty of supervising the production of toys and picture-books, and to urge their improvement where it considers it expedient. The Bureau is therefore striving to improve picture-books and toys by eliminating the bad and creating a taste for the good. Toys that it considers worthy it recommends to manufacturers. In this way it believes that it will eliminate from the market the coarse and vulgar toys and picture-books and supplant them by only the best.

II. PROVISIONS FOR CHILDREN'S GUIDANCE AND PROTECTION AS AN EXTENSION OF HOME EDUCATION

1. SOCIAL PROVISIONS, SUCH AS KINDERGARTEN, CRÈCHES ETC.

On seeing that there was much to be desired in the bringing up of Japan's children, the Ministry of Education began to provide Kindergarten to assist mothers in rearing their children. But the Japanese Kindergarten is different from the Infant Schools in England or the Ecoles Maternelles of France. The Japanese Kindergarten takes care of children from the age of three to six. It specializes in developing their budding mental capacities, but without any formal instruction whatever. Along with this the infants are helped to form good habits which will facilitate their mothers' task in the home upbringing. The crèches protect the children's lives, but the Ministry's desire is to realize the principles of the nursery school whereby the public day nursery may be combined with the Kindergarten. It further seeks to provide the Kindergarten with some features of practical training in life. To this end those responsible for the day nurseries have of late added some educational atmosphere to the nursery methods.

2. PROVISIONS FOR CHILDREN'S AMUSEMENT AND CULTURE

The Ministry has of late years found that it is increasingly difficult with the growing complexity of Japan's social life to provide adequate and wholesome amusement for the children whose natural craving for amusements of all kinds is so insatiable. In an endeavour to satisfy this need the Ministry has provided :—

PLAYGROUNDS FOR CHILDREN

This is no easy problem in mountainous Japan where the excessive population demands so much land for rice cultivation. It should be remembered that some two thirds of Japan is covered by mountains. It was imperative, however,

to do something to take the children off the streets, which are becoming increasingly dangerous in city and village because of the rapid growth of towns with their congested automobile traffic, and because also the Japanese city does not usually provide a pavement for pedestrians. The Ministry has provided of late, therefore, a number of small city parks, which have done much to alleviate the congestion by offering recreation-grounds to the children. School playgrounds are also being more freely used after school hours. The Ministry seeks to appoint specialists who will serve as superintendents of these parks and recreation-grounds so that the greatest possible use may be made of them for the protection and health of the urban children.

AMUSEMENTS FOR CHILDREN IN THEIR LEISURE HOURS

The Ministry has done much to provide children with all sorts of healthy amusements for their leisure hours. These include story-telling, dramatic entertainments, concerts, cinema shows, circuses and conjuring. But of all these the cinema is the most popular among children. However, the Ministry is so determined to protect the children from baneful influences that it forbids students up to higher school standard attending the public cinema-halls. It therefore occasionally loans educational films to schools, youths' and adult associations, and at various times even hires the public cinema-hall to show films which it considers wholesome. The Ministry is also recommending and even producing good films itself for distribution among the prefectures, and some are even sent to foreign countries. Here it is helped by the Board of Tourist Industry of the Japanese Government Railways, which in recent years has produced some excellent films for both foreign and domestic propaganda. The Ministry further helps in staging simple nursery plays, or tales which are selected from among the best of the old and the new stories, and which the schools stage with good music in order to cultivate the children's appreciation of what the Ministry considers the best.

CHILDREN'S LIBRARY

Japanese publishers produce more books for children than the publishers of any other country. In fact, every book-stall appears a free library for children. But here is the since the children can get access to books of all kinds, almost without restriction. The Ministry has therefore instituted the Children's Library to encourage good reading habits among children. Along with these Children's Libraries the Ministry has endeavoured to foster children's interest in museums and art-galleries, so that parties are regularly conducted for visits.

(d) CHILDREN'S CLUBS AND SOCIETIES.

The Ministry has striven in recent years to encourage the reviving interest in the Japanese Family system to get the elders to help more in the training of the younger. With the Japanese family system constituted as it is this is not difficult, and thanks in a large measure to the Youths' Movement much good has resulted in the direction by the founding of Children's Clubs and Societies.

(c) BOYS' ORGANIZATIONS

The history of the Boys' Organizations is noteworthy because of the object for which they have consistently striven. It is to consolidate the social group to which the boys belong in either town or village. This was a natural result of the Feudal System. Later, they developed as social organizations and aimed to serve others while serving themselves. This special group in Japan is called the "Shonendan" (lit. "Boys' Party"). Similarly, in the feudal days in Japan the boys of the samurai class banded themselves to help each other in their studies. But this was of course for the exclusive honour of the clan. From among these organizations that of the "Kenjisha" in Satsuma still survives. But in the Meiji era the sphere of influence naturally widened and these boys' groups developed into clubs around the tutelary deity, just as did the young men's associations. With the introduction of new ideas from abroad these boys'

parties were later re-organized into Troops of Boy Scouts, which are federated nationally and internationally, so that Japan is always well represented at the Jamborees.

Because of the excellent work done by the Boy Scouts for improving national and international relations, the Ministry gives a subsidy each year to promote their work. It also subsidizes the Boys' Organizations generally. There are at present in Japan 700 Boys' Associations with some 70,000 regular members organized into a national federation. Besides these there are in the primary schools the Red Cross Boys' Associations which do praiseworthy work.

III. EDUCATION OF YOUTH. YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS

EDUCATION OF YOUNG MEN

The Ministry has concluded in recent years that it is imperative to provide for the post-school training and education of young men. For this reason there is in every town and village in Japan the Young Men's Association whose members cooperate for mutual help and culture.

YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION

This nation-wide movement deserves special mention and praise. Foreigners visiting Japan rarely fail to praise the admirable voluntary work done by these youths throughout the country. They are the gloved hand of the police on all public occasions, and perform their duty without ostentation or hope of pecuniary reward. They are uniformed, and their efficiency is often in inverse ratio to their cheap and ill-fitting uniforms. It is unquestionably one of the finest voluntary organizations in Japan. Its history is therefore worthy of mention. It has already been pointed out that from olden times there have been young men's clubs called by such names as Wakarenju or Wakashugumi. The members of these clubs worked voluntarily whenever there was a festival of the tutelary god, or for the maintenance of public peace in their towns and villages. There were also

the young men of the warrior class who, in obedience to the spirit of their ancestors, and by observing the family precepts, organized themselves into various clubs. The famous *Byakkotai*⁽¹⁾ of Aizu was a typical club. They commonly desired to promote their spiritual training and enhance their family name and honour. After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education offered their guidance to these organizations and thereby openly encouraged them. As part of the encouragement the Ministry first provided Continuation or Night Schools. Instead of these Continuation Schools, Youths' Schools were established in April, 1935. There were on the 1st October, 1935, 16,688 of these schools with 2,075,913 students. Later still it was decided that the expenses of the association should be met by the moneys the members earned from their own labours. In this way the association has since become self-supporting and self-governing, so that the members elect their own leaders. There is to-day therefore in Japan hardly a village without a branch of this Young Men's Association, and in April of 1931 there were 25,681 branches which counted 2,522,971 members. In 1934, the figures were:—

Boys' Associations	Members
16,099	2,462,873
Girls' „	
14,053	1,561,357

The Association provides lectures, courses of study, debates, reading circles, physical training classes etc. It has no political significance whatever. In the village and city life the members are untiring in their work. If there is a fire they are there almost as quick as the fire brigade, to control the crowd and give help in any way. On fête days they are on duty for many purposes. When there is an imitation air-raid the youths are mobilized, and it is remarkable what they are capable of doing, either independently or under expert guidance. None who passed through the Great Earthquake of 1923 can forget their untiring relief

(1) See Index.

and reconstruction work, and even noble sacrifices. Still more recently their valuable work in Tokyo during the Incident of February, 1936, is fresh in the memory of all who had anything to do with the trouble at that time. The Japanese people respect their work and give them every assistance. The Young Men's Association is without doubt one of the great institutions of the Japanese nation, which is justly proud of it. Many foreigners envy it, and wish that a similar disinterested organization existed in their home countries.

YOUNG MEN'S SCHOOLS

The Ordinance for the Young Men's Schools was promulgated on the 1st April, 1935, and was enforced from that day. The former Technical Continuation Schools and Young Men's Training Institutes were amalgamated into the Young Men's Training Schools. The former Technical Continuation Schools and Young Men's Training Schools were the most important institutions in the national education of young men, and the new system of Young Men's Schools has fused the characteristic features of these two kinds of institutions for young men into one institution. It has also fused the merit of vocational and industrial training of the Technical Continuation Schools and the merit of mental and physical training of the Young Men's Training Institutes. This the Japanese educationists consider an epoch-making revision in young men's training and education.

According to the new Ordinance, the object of the Young Men's Schools is to give necessary physical and moral training to young men and women, and to foster their virtues, as well as to impart general and technical knowledge so as to increase their qualifications for good citizenship. The Young Men's Schools are to provide chances for continued study to indigent young men and women, who, on leaving the elementary schools, cannot enter higher grade schools but have to engage in trade or industry.

The Young Men's Schools have an ordinary course and

a main course, but they may have only an ordinary course or main course according to the condition of the locality. A post-graduate course and special course may also be established in the Young Men's Schools. The ordinary course will extend over two years, and the main course over five years for men, and three years for women. This, however, may be four years for men and two years for women according to the local conditions. The post-graduate course extends over one year or more.

Those admitted to the ordinary course are either the graduates of elementary schools or of schools corresponding in standard to them. Those admitted to the main course are the graduates of the ordinary course, graduates of higher elementary schools, or those schools of a corresponding standard.

The study and training in the ordinary course for men is in morals and civics, general knowledge, vocational training and gymnastics; and for women, in morals and civics, general lessons, domestic science, sewing and gymnastics.

The study and training in the main course for men is in morals and civics, general knowledge, vocational lessons and military training; and for women, in morals and civics, general knowledge vocational lessons, domestic science, sewing and gymnastics.

The course of study and training in post-graduate study is fixed according to the curriculum in the main course, provided that the lessons in morals and civics cannot be omitted. No tuition fee is charged at the Young Men's Schools except by permission of the authorities concerned.

For the purpose of carrying out this project, an additional budget of ¥750,000 for the Educational Office was passed by the 67th special session of the Diet, viz. in 1934-1935.

IV. CHOICE OF LEADERS IN HOME EDUCATION MOVEMENT

The Ministry of Education recognizes that first-class leaders are necessary to guarantee the success of its Home

Education Movement. It therefore gives courses of lectures each year to the leaders and those engaged in girls' education. In these courses the Ministry's aims are explained. Conferences are also held at various times in conjunction with the courses of study to promote the home education movement generally. In other words, the Ministry tries to encourage as much cohesion as possible among all concerned with the movement. For this reason there are besides the Committee or Inquiry Section, which consists of the learned experts, (1) the Committee for the Promotion of Home Education, (2) the Section of Inquiry into Social Work, and (3) the Committee for Retrenchment in Public and Private Expenditure. All collaborate to perfect the Home Education Movement.

V. COURSES FOR ADULT EDUCATION

These courses are what the Ministry of Education has provided to satisfy the public demand for adult education, which has already been treated. The Ministry therefore asked some fifty institutions, such as universities and special schools, as well as the local authorities, to co-operate in providing extension lectures which for the past twelve years the Ministry has systematically controlled. At the same time the Ministry, through these extension classes has striven to guide the thought of those who attend them. For this purpose it has provided special classes in civics and the sciences. It has also endeavoured to raise the standard of living and public taste. The Ministry is satisfied with the excellent results thus attained so far, and it is consequently planning to make the scheme still more popular and to adapt its provisions to meet the rapidly changing conditions of social life in Japan. Here are some details of the work the Ministry has undertaken :—

Terms. Term generally lasts for three months, with lessons once or twice a week and in the evening.

Hours. Generally from ten to fifteen lessons, each lasting two hours. Some twenty to thirty hours are therefore devoted to each subject.

Subjects. These depend somewhat upon the local needs. Generally, however, the Ministry offers those subjects which it considers best related to the everyday life of those who attend the courses. These include philosophy, history, thought-guidance, social problems, law and economics, commerce and industry, agriculture and marine products industry, medicine, household management, domestic sciences and literature.

The Ministry charges the lecturers to give in the plainest terms possible all academic or technical instruction offered in the courses, and the lecturers freely use films to help the students to understand fully the subjects treated.

It is customary for the students to elect certain of their fellow-students to serve as a committee and to collaborate in the work involved.

The following table shows the increase in this work within recent years :

years	Courses				Students		Personnel Involved			
	No. of Places	No. of Counties	No. of Lessons	No. of Hours	No. of Students	No. of those who completed the courses	Percentage	No. of Committee	No. of Lecturers	No. of Clerks
1923...	1	4	40	120	426	237	56	1	5	3
1924...	6	27	206	509	4,949	2,207	41	5	49	13
1925...	8	34	375	675	2,952	2,172	74	7	40	16
1926...	63	174	1,654	3,628	12,960	8,437	65	18	389	149
1927...	84	224	2,132	4,624	17,285 (2,746)	11,253 (1,916)	65	31	531	177
1928...	99	272	2,480	5,369	21,440 (3,331)	13,489 (2,603)	65	48	599	204
1929...	102	323	1,744	4,252	18,577 (5,114)	12,751 (3,832)	70	50	575	186
1930...	104	359	1,626	4,020	18,044 (4,466)	12,929 (3,669)	72	43	552	174
1931...	117	323	1,552	4,324 $\frac{1}{2}$	26,478 (10,481)	19,230 (7,468)	70	42	650	130
1932...	108	388	1,583	3,954	21,753 (6,936)	14,006 (4,483)	68	52	626	154
1933...	127	722		3,710	24,958 (5,138)	15,983 (3,339)	64 (65)	45	760	139
1934...	131	756	1,205	3,635	28,001 (8,252)	20,106 (6,077)	71 (73)	43	790	167

— () No. of Women.

VI. SCHOOL EXTENSION WORK

The buildings, equipment etc. of all the schools from elementary to university grade are recruited to promote adult education. The school auditoriums and class-rooms serve for popular lectures and lessons, exhibitions and cinema shows. The local technical schools are used to give demonstrations, and all the girls' schools serve for lectures to women on the domestic sciences. Then the higher technical schools and universities serve for lectures on higher technical training for those who, though now employed in engineering etc. have not had in the public schools the benefit of the thorough grounding in the theory of the sciences they are engaged in. By this means the Ministry is also answering the growing appeal in Japan for equality of opportunity in education, though anything approaching the Ecole Unique of French ideals is not contemplated.

VII. LIBRARIES AND GUIDANCE IN READING

The Japanese are a great reading people. This largely arises from their traditional classical education which demanded so much reading. This was also demanded in China, whose educational system influenced Japan very much in this respect. The love of reading was also accentuated after the Restoration by the Japanese determination to short-circuit western progress. This could only be attempted by omnivorous reading. The Chinese influence explains also why Japan has had libraries from olden times. There were, for example, the Kanazawa Bunko (Kanazawa Library) founded in 1265 A.D., the Ashikaga Gakko (Ashikaga School), founded in 1395 A.D., in which many valuable books accumulated. Later, the Tokugawa Shogunate established the Momijiyama Bunko or Momijiyama Library, and in it amassed a large number of rare and valuable books which were only lent to those recognized scholars having special permission, or to government officials. It might be added here that this same reluctance to lend valuable books to any but the right people is still found in Japanese

libraries, and foreign scholars in particular experience some difficulty in establishing their right to access. This applies only, however, to the more exclusive libraries. In respect of the public libraries it is quite different. In fact, it would have been impossible to be anything but generous, faced as the authorities were with the popular demand for literature of all branches. The numbers of those making use of the libraries have increased rapidly of late. Today, therefore, there are over 4,000 libraries which together contain nearly ten million books. Further, the Government gives subsidies to the more important among the libraries and offers courses of study for assistant librarians. The Children's Libraries not only lend books but also display specimens of books suitable for children's reading and education. The libraries further make a judicious selection of books for the free use of children, and the librarian is specially trained for his responsibilities and charged to help the children in choosing books that are best for them.

Circulating and Women's Libraries have also been opened. They serve collaterally in the work with the larger libraries, or working independently they informally circulate among the villages those books which are considered best suited to the needs of the agricultural communities. These libraries are called "Bunko," which means "box of books," and they include such works as those on the care and welfare of babies, nutrition and household management, as well as books on general culture, the spiritual life, æsthetics, and amusements.

The Ministry of Education has also a system whereby it recommends first-class books on general culture. Officials are designated to study and review the books, and in this way to guide the public in its choice. It also publishes a catalogue of standard books. This helps the public libraries and the local libraries in stocking the best books, and also to know what the Ministry has placed on the index.

In the matter of libraries the Board of Tourist Industry of the Japanese Government Railways has recently made

an interesting propaganda experiment. It has provided at considerable expense, three circulating libraries which it has loaned to America to enable Americans to read some of the best books on Japan.

VIII. MUSEUMS AND OTHER PROVISIONS FOR VISUAL INSTRUCTION

The Ministry has also paid considerable attention in recent years to teaching the public through museums, zoological gardens, aquaria and art-galleries, by providing the people and school children with the means of direct observation. The Imperial Museums in Tokyo and Nara are rich in ancient Japanese art and historical exhibits. There are also excellent museums of science, industry and agriculture. Among these is the Science Museum of Tokyo, which the Ministry controls and which aims to diffuse some elementary scientific knowledge among the people. There is also the Railway Exhibition in Tokyo, under the Ministry of Communications. Both endeavour by exhibiting machines, models and natural products to spread popular scientific knowledge among the public by means of experiments, demonstrations and popular lectures.

IX. IMPROVEMENT OF POPULAR AMUSEMENTS

It has already been said that the Ministry is deeply concerned about this matter. In recent years it has provided excellent films and numerous gramophone records which are offered to the various educational bodies on the best possible terms.

The Ministry has also made considerable use of the radio, though, as has already been pointed out, more could be done by a closer cooperation between the Ministry of Communications, which controls the radio in Japan, and the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education demands, however, that the daily programme provide something of cultural and educational value, besides the daily news of current events etc. These programmes are

usually nation-wide hook-ups. In addition therefore to the time-honoured classical drama, such as the Noh-songs (Yokyoku), with the bamboo-flute (Shakuhachi) and the classical music, the programmes give modern music. In fact, on the whole there is probably more western-style music broadcast today than classical. English, French and German lessons are also given almost daily. Today, the programmes specially provide for those branches of education which appeal to the nation to strengthen the national spirit and unite the nation solidly through its family system.

X. VARIOUS MOVEMENTS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

1. MOVEMENT FOR ENLIGHTENMENT

This movement means nothing more than the efforts made to inculcate the national spirit, which includes the improvement of public morals through religion and ethics. There are many such movements which the Ministry sponsors. Some are trying to develop intense respect for the national constitution. Others aim at encouraging obedience to the Confucian doctrine, or national morality, humanitarianism or the international spirit. There are also some which are striving to reform customs and manners, and to cultivate frugality and industry.

In old Japan, Buddhism and Confucianism were chiefly responsible for this task. But in later times of the Tokugawa era, i.e. the first half of the 18th Century, there was founded among the masses a new school called "Shingaku" or Popular Moral Teaching. This made a valuable contribution in educating the people. However, it will readily be understood that after the Meiji Restoration, when Western civilization penetrated the country so quickly, the people were at a loss to know which way to turn for guidance in prosecuting the new national ideals. It was at this stage, i.e. the year 1890, that the Emperor Meiji promulgated the historical Rescript on Education.

On referring to the Edict⁽¹⁾ the reader will see that it not

(1) See p. 100.

only showed to the nation what the new ideals were but it also crystallized the manner in which the people should strive to realize them.

Something of a serious set-back was felt after the disastrous earthquake of 1923. Though the world admired Japan for her amazing recovery after the tragedy, the Japanese themselves saw that the Great Earthquake caused a social crisis which brought to light many national weaknesses, some of the graver of which had been malignantly growing in the unequalled national prosperity both during and following the Great War. It is not out of place, therefore, to say that the Great Earthquake awakened Japan from her smug feeling that all was well, merely because she had no poverty, no unemployment and very few post-war problems. The earthquake provided her with a devastated area to bring her to her senses, as one had hoped the Great War's ruins had done for Europe. It revealed quite a number of dangerous chinks in the national armour. So much so that it was considered necessary to promulgate another Imperial Edict appealing to the nation to stress the promotion of the national spirit and the virtues of simplicity and manliness. In other words, the Edict besought the people to recover the spirit of the early post-Meiji Restoration days when the entire nation was recruited to promote the national welfare with international honour. This second Rescript had far-reaching effects upon the nation. Immediately, all the organizations for national enlightenment roused themselves to work for the movement. In 1936 there were already 3,265 organizations, and the Central Federation of the Organizations for the Enlightenment Movement was organized to control and coordinate this national work.

2. MOVEMENT TO PRESERVE AND PROMOTE GOOD MORALS AND BEAUTIFUL NATIONAL CUSTOMS

As a people the Japanese are exceedingly proud of their national customs which date from so many ages. It is true that the younger college-educated youths consider today that

many of these customs are archaic, and they openly assert that they prefer the dance-hall or the cinema. But the nation as a whole is behind these old customs, as is testified by the village life throughout the country and the insistent demands for reference to them in daily radio programmes. The authorities have therefore to cater for this demand, especially through such organizations as the radio and the theatres. In order also to encourage modern youth to stay on the land, when there are so many inducements to desert it, the Ministry of Education tries as far as possible to encourage youths to remain on their family farms by offering inducements which a few years ago were unknown. But it is equally true, on the other hand, that by providing free higher school education the Ministry encourages the country youths to aspire to white-collared employment in the cities. Hence the conflict. As part of its programme the Ministry consistently strives to promote the simple and honest customs of the country-folk, while endeavouring to eliminate those customs which are absurd or superstitious, and which can only aggravate the intelligent youths' objection to remaining in rural districts. Much has been done, thanks in a large measure to the Young Women's Associations, which have 13,577 branches with a membership of 1,639,927, and the Women's Clubs, which number 7,500, with an aggregate membership of 2,129,673. These organizations aim chiefly at self-education, to raise the tone of the village home-life and to purify village morals. To achieve this they promote regular and occasional lectures, courses, debates and study circles, concerts, literary study groups and dramatic societies. Members also visit the sick and needy and study their home conditions, or conduct crèches, information bureaux, and even provide medical care and nursing for the sick.

3. PROTECTION OF HISTORIC PLACES AND BEAUTIFUL NATURAL SITES

The Japanese are proud of their country's natural beauty. The sea, mountains, lakes and pines really mean something to even the most humble of them. They are therefore

willing to collaborate with the Ministry of Education in safeguarding those places which are so closely associated with their history, or which are recognized as of special natural beauty. Some of these places date well back into the 2,600 years of Japan's history, and their names are household words among the people who consider that it is their duty to visit such places at least once during their life-time. The Japanese are for this reason a nation of travellers. Per capita it is doubtful whether any people travel through their home-land more than do the Japanese. They frequently make pilgrimages to some national shrine or other. The Japanese Government Railways, by their cheap excursion fares, help the people to do this, and few countries enjoy cheaper travel facilities than does Japan. This also permits the school-children to travel considerably within their own country, and the Ministry of Education has evolved a scheme whereby school-children from the primary schools can, in fact must, travel during their schooldays. The nationalists proposed in 1936 a plan to conduct every primary school child at least once to the nation's shrine at *Ise*. This shrine of the Sun Goddess is the Mecca of Japanese shintoists, the Holy of Holies of their national life.

Finally, the Ministry has designated five National Parks which contain what the people have voted as the most beautiful and popular places among the scenes of which Japan boasts. The Ministry therefore encourages the people to consider these, and in fact the whole land, as their national heritage. It further encourages them to take a keen interest in their local history. By this and many other means, the Ministry of Education is yearly endeavouring to correlate all its efforts to inculcate on the rising generation the fullest possible realization of the beauty, strength, dignity, culture, and world-power that it claims is the land of the Rising Sun.

(1) For the whole of this chapter the authors are indebted to the Bureau of Social Education of the Ministry of Education, and to the document entitled "Importance of Social Education in the Home," which the Bureau published in 1932, and which states the Ministry's official views on Social and Adult Education in Japan.

CHAPTER XVI⁽¹⁾

THE HIRAO PLAN OF 1936

In May, 1936, the then Minister of Education, Mr. Hachisaburo Hirao, proposed certain radical reforms in Japan's educational system. Though the proposed reforms were no more than Mr. Hirao's private plan, and impossible of acceptance by the majority of educationists and financially interested people in the country, they pointed to what enterprising reformers would effect if given a free hand. Further, they indicated the line of any reforms which future Ministers of Education would most likely attempt.

EXTENSION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL COURSE

The most sweeping among the reforms of the Hirao plan, and the only one which his immediate successors are inclined to pursue, is that of extending the compulsory primary school course from six to eight years. The corollary to this is to reduce the number of middle schools, higher schools and universities, though for the time being there is little mention being made of this. The chief reason why the reformers wish to extend the primary school course is to reduce the unemployment among graduates of the higher institutions and universities. This is especially so as there is plenty of opportunity for youths who are willing to engage in occupations which most Japanese graduates of the higher institutions consider below their dignity, largely due to the strong tradition which has already been dealt with in the discussion of university education.

(1) For a fuller discussion of the present situation of Japan's educational system see *The Year Book of Education for 1937*, (Montague House, London W. C. 1).

It has already been said that Japanese society is increasingly unable to absorb the growing number of university graduates each year. They quite naturally become disgruntled, and it is only thanks to the Japanese family system that serious consequences are averted. Relatives will provide these unemployed with a roof and a pittance on which to live, even for long periods, in the hope that they will ultimately obtain the post for which they believe their university training has qualified them, and when they will be able to refund what the family benefactors have done for them. The moral and social dangers of such a system to young men who would work, if what they consider the right sort of job could be offered them, and who often pass years in idleness, can only be compared with the social dangers of the dole system in England. It is the private universities in Japan which swell this number of unemployed so much. If the graduates would accept posts in what they consider the lower strata of commercial and industrial life, the danger would not be so great. But they and their parents consider this unworthy. The result is that they prefer to enter some office, which is often already over-staffed and where the pay is poor, rather than engage in some branch of industry where there is real scope for the manual worker. What aggravates this is that the score of private universities in Tokyo cause the standard to be often deplorably low in order to attract students. But this fact does not discourage a graduate of even the poorest university from believing that he is qualified for a post demanding academic qualifications. Not the worst feature therefore of the university unemployment problem in Japan is that there are thousands of graduates who believe themselves to be fitted for high-class posts but to which by reason of their inadequate university training they are unqualified.

Mr. Hirao made it quite clear in his plan that if the elementary school course was to be lengthened it would be necessary to reduce the number of middle schools. In fact, the lengthening of the primary school course was merely the first step to reducing the middle schools, since it is the pre-

primary school course is the thin end of the wedge to open the door to so many other reforms in the educational system, the majority of reformers are content to concentrate on that for the time being. They see that any basic reforms must begin with primary education, and that if these are effected many of the desired reforms in higher education will take care of themselves.

MIDDLE SCHOOLS

The Hirao Plan designed to make the middle school course one of three years instead of five, as it is at present. Further, the middle schools would be divided into higher grade schools and those schools providing a practical education. Then, the most radical change was to limit the middle schools serving as preparatory schools for higher education to one in each prefecture. Thus, by reducing the number of preparatory middle schools, Mr. Hirao claimed that the present "examination hell" resulting from such keen competition for the higher schools would be largely removed. The Hirao Plan provided also that all the middle schools, other than the preparatory, would offer practical commercial, industrial or agricultural education.

NORMAL SCHOOLS

Each prefecture would be required to maintain one normal school, and instead of as in the present system, graduates of the middle schools would be specifically trained for two or three years as teachers, should they decide to adopt teaching as a career. In this way Mr. Hirao hoped to do away with the loose system of recruiting certain teachers.

HIGHER SCHOOLS

The present seven-year higher school training (including both the middle and higher school course) would be reduced to five years. To achieve this, the independent higher school course would be for three years, and during this course the students would be given manual training for six months. Then, only if those graduating at the institutes held certificates showing that they had completed the manual training

course would they be permitted to enter the higher institutions.

UNIVERSITIES

The graduates of the universities would be reduced in proportion as the middle schools were restricted to one for each prefecture. Each university would have its own clearly-defined territory, and except in special cases only students living in that territory would be allowed to enter the university. Those students wishing to study at a university other than that in their home territory would be required to live in the chosen university's territory for a certain period. Moreover, they would be required to pay higher tuition fees than the candidates living in that university territory. This plan aims at avoiding the massing of students in large cities, and especially in Tokyo. However, it is evident to anyone associated with Japan's educational system that this plan in the Hirao scheme is the most difficult of all to effect. With twenty-two universities already established in Tokyo, and with all that they mean to the academic, social and political life of Japan, it is impossible to see how, except with the strongest hand, which Japanese Ministers of education are not permitted to use, the Ministry could distribute these universities over the country. It is a little late therefore in the history of Japan's educational system to attempt this.

REDUCTION IN UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS

Private Universities. Mr. Hirao protested that there were far too many private universities. In his scheme, therefore, only those private universities having special features in their training would be permitted to remain. Just what those required special features were the Minister did not say.

Special Schools. The plan provided for the organization of schools of music, arts and other special subjects, to permit students who have completed the lengthened elementary school course to profit from them, regardless of the students' age. Mr. Hirao considered that special training in the arts

is often postponed too long under the present system. *Schools for Girls.* These would be reorganized and planned on almost the same footing as the boys' schools. But instead of receiving manual training, the girls would be required to study domestic science and its application.

COST OF THE PROPOSED REFORMS

Mr. Hirao calculated that his plan would cost at least ¥42,000,000 to launch, and an annual appropriation afterwards of ¥22,000,000. Further, for the training of extra teachers to meet the demands of the new system, ¥1,200,000 would have to be voted. He contemplated beginning the annual appropriation of ¥22,000,000 from the fiscal year 1941-42.

Mr. Hirao proposed an alternative and cheaper plan covering the training of new teachers for five years. Otherwise the changes are the same as those of the first plan. This second plan would demand an extraordinary expenditure of ¥39,000,000 to launch, and a regular appropriation each year of ¥21,000,000 from the 1946-47 fiscal year. It is of interest to compare the amount voted in the last fiscal year (1937-38) for teaching, which was only ¥600,000.

Mr. Hirao proposed a third plan to extend youths' education, of which the following is the outline:—

1. The ordinary course of the young men's training schools would be given in the daytime, but night schools would be permitted if the local conditions required them.
2. The course in such schools would be not less than 210 hours yearly.
3. Half the salary of the teachers of the higher section in the elementary schools would be defrayed by the national treasury.
4. The cost of substitutes for young men's training schools would be met by the national treasury.

This third plan would have called for ¥800,000 in the budget of 1937-38 for the training of teachers and the extension of school facilities, and an annual outlay of about ¥1,200,000 from the 1938-39 budget.

TREATMENT OF EXPELLED STUDENTS UNDER THE HIRAO PLAN

Not the least important provision under the Hirao Plan was that of giving another chance to students who had been expelled from schools during the past few years for "dangerous thoughts," or the clandestine study of communism. At a conference held at the Ministry of Education on June 30, 1936, Mr. Hirao said to the 43 principals of higher schools present:—"Let students who have renounced communism return to the schools from which they were expelled." Had this been put into practice it would have meant a great change in the Japanese educational policy, as well as in that of the Ministry of Justice during the past ten years, in which so many students have been expelled from their schools without any hope of ever being taken back, and with little chance of being offered any post in society. Mr. Hirao was not in office long enough to make any change in the matter, and nothing further has been said about it since. This is probably because, on the one hand, his proposal did not meet with any official favour, and on the other because the number of communist students has been declining in recent years, due to the wave of nationalism and Japan's growing commercial prosperity.

CULTIVATION OF THE NATIONAL SPIRIT

Sweeping as were the proposed changes of Mr. Hirao, he did not omit to stress the need of inculcating an intenser Japanese spirit upon students throughout the country. He therefore charged the higher school principals to strive to develop a greater respect for the Japanese spirit in their schools, in order to combat the growing evils of individualism, which, he said, had been imported along with better things from the West. Here it might be argued that the Minister's charge to the school directors contradicted in some degree the plans which he had outlined to do away with much of the present standardization in Japanese schools which is largely responsible for the negation of individual thinking. The following excerpt from Mr. Hirao's address

to the higher school principals on that occasion shows what will doubtless be the line of reforms which any future Minister of Education who is strong enough will attempt:—

“ Since the Meiji Era, Japan has absorbed with amazing rapidity the culture of Europe and America, and by that practice has made great progress. Because, however, it took in, along with the better things, socialistic and communistic ideas without criticism, we are beset by basic evils. In order to remedy the situation, the Education Ministry, in accordance with the Cabinet's renovation policy, has appointed an educational renovation council. It is hoped, therefore, that you will try to seek a fundamental solution in accordance with this renovation policy.

The purpose of the higher school is to train young men's characters so that they will become the bulwark of the nation. In practice, however, the higher school is considered a preparatory school for the university. Hereafter, I hope you will see to it that the true Japanese spirit is instilled into the students' minds through practical experience.

The Education Ministry is planning to revise the compulsory courses with a view to training real patriots. For this purpose we have decided to set up seminars for teachers on Japanese culture. I hope you and your teachers will avail yourselves of this institution.

In such a system of education, careful selection of teachers is naturally required. Especially is it essential to have teachers of the finest character. In this endeavour you are requested to co-operate with the Ministry as far as possible.

Lastly, I have heard that higher schools shun students who have been communists but who have nevertheless renounced the pernicious doctrine. But I consider that as many as possible of such students should be readmitted. For one reason, continued ostracism of such students entails the danger of spreading the impression that the world is a dark and dreary place which must be fundamentally changed. Teachers must therefore have the hearts of parents, and influence the students' minds to right thinking and virtue.”

Concerning the Minister's proposals to readmit communist students to the schools which expelled them, the *Jiji* newspaper of Tokyo reported at the time Mr. Hirao made his proposal that 617 higher school students had been expelled in the first half of 1936, and that none of them had

been readmitted. The *Jiji* recalled that in the autumn of 1935 the Ministry of Education had revised its ruling in respect of those who had renounced Marxian doctrines, thereby permitting them to return to their schools within two years. But as the final decision rested upon the principal of the school concerned, and as all the higher school principals resolutely opposed readmitting any student once he had been expelled, not a single student had been taken back by his school.

SITUATION IN 1937

Since the fall of the government in which Mr. Hirao was Minister of Education, the cabinet has changed twice and there has been a general election. Little has therefore been done to change the educational system. Ex-Premier Hayashi, who succeeded Mr. Hirao as Minister of Education, made promises but could do nothing, as has already been pointed out. Mrs. Yasui, the present Minister in the Konoe Cabinet, when interviewed after being appointed to the portfolio, had nothing to say, except that since he was not an educationist it was first necessary for him to study the system thoroughly before committing himself. As late as July of 1937 Mr. Yasui had no programme to offer publicly.

EXPANSION OF TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

The most pressing need in 1937 appears to be the provision of trained men to take their part in Japan's rapidly expanding industry. The shortage of trained men is the outcome of the traditional system which in the past has failed to keep pace with the changes in Japanese life. The Education Ministry has therefore established a Business Education Advancement Commission which is planning to create central and prefectural organizations to raise the number of graduates in technical schools.

It is further reported that the Ministry has undertaken to subsidize the lower business schools and bring the business training curricula up-to-date.

The demand for graduates of technical schools has gone

far beyond the supply. In 1937 it was much greater than in 1936, when the industrial companies applied for 4,530 graduates in three branches of the higher technical schools, and 13,100 graduates in the lower technical schools. To supply this demand in 1936 the higher technical schools could only offer 1,140 graduates, and the lower technical schools were unable to supply more than 1,740 graduates in electrical and mechanical engineering and applied chemistry. In the spring graduation of 1937 the supply was about the same, so that the Ministry immediately became gravely concerned and decided to make adequate provisions. It is therefore reported in July, 1937, that the Ministry has allotted funds to establish higher technical schools in industrial cities, and either to expand or create courses in electricity, mechanics, applied chemistry, mining engineering and metallurgy in the present higher technical schools. In keeping with the plan of the Ministry of Education, the Home Ministry has decided to revise the laws and regulations for safeguarding health in the factories. The revisions are to be promulgated in July and enforced in September of 1937. Further, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry is determined to expand industry in the agrarian villages. By this means the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry aims at helping the dissatisfied farmers and increasing the productivity of the country as a whole.

What makes the task of the Ministry of Education to increase the technical training in schools a difficult one is that potential teachers in technical schools are being attracted to industry, in which there is a boom, mainly due to the speeding up in the manufacture of munitions. The important industrial firms are therefore offering more attractive salaries than the science teacher of the middle school could ever expect. Consequently, the Ministry of Education is faced with the dual task of turning out more technical graduates, and also of finding teachers for the schools. The higher normal schools are not of much help here since they, too, have been graduating fewer students of science in recent years. In the past the unemployed graduates in

science from the universities took the teaching posts, but today there are posts for them all in industry, and as they are more lucrative there is a teacher famine in the science courses. To meet this dearth of instructors, the Ministry contemplates creating a provisional training course for science teachers in mathematics, physics and chemistry in either the higher normal school or the higher technical school, or an increase in the regular students of the higher normal school. It is also suggested to enlarge the ten higher technical schools under the Ministry's jurisdiction.

Further, to speed up the solution of this problem, the Ministries of War, Navy and Commerce are collaborating with the Ministry of Education, so that it seems certain something tangible will be done to provide training for the additional 8,000 technicians which industrialists claim will be required during the next six years.

Concerning quite a different field of educational interest, it is said that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is finding it difficult to meet the demands from different countries for instructors in the Japanese language and culture. It is reported in July of 1937 that institutions in the United States, Australia, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy have asked for Japanese instructors to be supplied to them, but that the Foreign Office finds the demand far exceeds the supply. It appears that the chief difficulty is that of the qualifications which are insisted upon. The proposed contracts specify terms of two or three years and call for "men of character, well-versed in Japanese culture." The academic field is therefore almost entirely restricted to university and college professors, many of whom might be induced to accept posts if the term were shorter. The reason for this is that the Japanese professor who is long away from his school is in danger of losing certain privileges of seniority which he considers of more value in his career than the financially profitable stage passed in some foreign university. That there is difficulty in providing such professors is proved by the recent demand of Mr. Torao Wakamatsu, Japanese consul-general at Sydney, who was asked by the Queensland University to

recommend a professor of Japanese language and culture. The salary was to be about £530 a year for three years. This, for a Japanese professor, is a very high figure indeed. Yet though the Ministry of Education and the Society for International Cultural Relations tried to find someone to take the post they failed.

CULTURAL AWARD

On Empire Day, February 11, there was created in Japan the "Cultural Award." This new decoration is to be granted to distinguished scholars, writers and artists who have rendered valuable services to Japanese culture. It is probable that the award will result in Japanese scholars making increased efforts to improve the various branches of studies in which they are engaged, since the Japanese attach considerable importance to decorations of recognized value. Certain awards have already been made, and the diversity of qualifications of those who have been honoured gives reason to believe that this new decoration will stimulate an all-round cultural improvement.

Apart from these proposed changes in 1937 there seems but slight promise of much progress being made in 1937 in Japan's educational system. Most Japanese educationists are eagerly looking forward to the Seventh World Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations to be held in Tokyo in August of 1937. They hope that by the exchange of views among educationists from all over the world they may glean a number of valuable ideas which will help them in formulating Japan's educational policy of the future. When at length some satisfactory policy is evolved to solve the problems in Japan's present educational system, and which this book has tried to show, it is likely to be one which will have a far-reaching effect upon the Japanese Empire and people, and to interest educationists throughout the world.

Appendix

JAPANESE CHRONOLOGY

From Emperor Jimmu B.C. 660-585 to Present Day

With Corresponding Years in Christian Era

1. The column "Government" shows those who actually administered the affairs of state, and where that column is blank it means that the Emperor or Empress governed in person.
2. There was no chronological period during 1-1,305, (Japanese year).
3. Read the vowels as follows:—

'a' (a) like a in father	'ai' ai as in aisle
'e' (e) „ e „ men	'ei' ei weigh
'i' (i) „ i „ pin	'ō' o: "o" bone
'ō' (o) „ o „ pony	'ū' u: "oo" moon
'u' (u) „ oo „ book	

No	Emperors & Empresses (O)	Government	Chronological Period from to
1	Jimmu		
2	Suizei		
3	Annei		
4	Itoku		
5	Kōshō		
6	Kōan		
7	Kōrei		
8	Kōgen		
9	Kaika		
10	Sujin		
11	Suinin		
12	Keikō		
13	Seimu		
14	Chūai (Empress Jingū)		
15	Ojin		
16	Nintoku		
17	Richū		
18	Hanshō		
19	Ingyō		
20	Ankō		
21	Yüryaku		
22	Seinei		
23	Kensō		
24	Ninken		
25	Buretsu		
26	Keitai		
27	Ankan		

Japanese Year from to	Christian Year from to	Era	Remarks
1 - 76	B.C. 660 - 585		
80 - 112	581 - 549		3 years vacancy.
112 - 150	549 - 511		
151 - 184	510 - 477		
186 - 268	475 - 393		1 year vacancy.
269 - 370	392 - 291		
371 - 446	290 - 215		
447 - 503	214 - 158		
503 - 563	158 - 98		
564 - 631	97 - 30		
632 - 730	B.C. A.D. 29 - 70		
731 - 790	A.D. 71 - 130		
791 - 850	131 - 190	Era	
851 - 860 (861 - 929)	192 - 200 (201 - 269)	Yamato	1 year vacancy.
860 - 970	200 - 310		
973-1,059	313 - 399		
1,060-1,065	400 - 405		
1,066-1,071	406 - 411		
1,072-1,113	412 - 453		
1,113-1,116	453 - 456		
1,116-1,139	456 - 479		
1,139-1,144	479 - 484		
1,145-1,147	485 - 487		
1,148-1,158	488 - 498		
1,158-1,166	498 - 506		
1,167-1,191	507 - 531		
1,191-1,196	531 - 535		

No	Emperors & Empresses (O)	Government	Chronological Period from to
28	Senkwa		
29	Kimmci		
30	Bitatsu		
31	Yōmei		
32	Sushun		
33	O Suiko "	*Sesshō Prince Umayado (Shōtoku Taishi)	
34	Jomei		
35	O Kōgyoku*		
36	Kōtoku "		Taika Hakuchi 1- 6 1- 5
37	O Saimei*		
38	Tenchī		
39	Kōbun		*Hakuho 1
40	Temmu		Sujaku 1
41	O Jitō "		" 1
42	Mommu " "		Daihō 1- 4 Keiun 1- 4
43	O Gemmyō "		" Wado 4- 5 1- 5
44	O Genshō "		Reiki 1- 3 Yōrō 1- 8
45	Shōmu " "		Jinki 1- 6 Tenbyō 1- 21 *Tenbyō Kanhō 1
46	O Kōken*		Tenbyō Shōhō 1- 9 Tenbyō Höji 1- 2
47	Junnin		Tenbyō Höji 2- 8
48	O Shōtoku*		" Jingō 8- 9 Tenbyō Jingō 1- 3 Jingo Keiun 1- 4

Japanese Year from to	Christian Year from to	Era	Remarks
1,195-1,199	535 - 539		
1,199-1,231	539 - 571		
1,232-1,245	572 - 585		(Alternative Pronunciation.....Bidatsu)
1,245-1,247	585 - 587		
1,247-1,252	587 - 592		
1,252-1,281	592 - 621		
1,281-1,288	621 - 628		*Regency.
1,289-1,301	629 - 641		
1,302-1,305	642 - 645	EI	*Empress Kōgyoku & Empress Saimei was the same person.
1,305-1,310	645 - 650		
1,310-1,314	650 - 654		
1,315-1,321	655 - 661	Yamato	
1,321-1,331	661 - 671		
1,331-1,332	671 - 672		*Hakuhō.....Jan., 1332-July, 1332.
1,332-1,346	672 - 686		
1,346	686		
1,346	686		
1,347-1,357	687 - 697		
1,357-1,361	697 - 701		
1,361-1,364	701 - 704		
1,364-1,367	704 - 707		
1,367-1,368	707 - 708		
1,368-1,375	708 - 715	Wado	
1,375-1,377	715 - 717		
1,377-1,384	717 - 724		
1,384-1,389	724 - 729		
1,389-1,409	729 - 749	Nara Era	(Alter. Pro. Tempei)
1,409	749		*Tenbyō Kanhō .....April 4th, 1409-July 2nd, 1409.
1,409-1,417	749 - 757		
1,417-1,418	757 - 758		
1,418-1,424	758 - 764		
1,424-1,425	764 - 765		
1,425-1,427	765 - 767		
1,427-1,430	767 - 770		xEmpress Kōken & Empress Shōtoku were the same person.

No	Emperors & Empresses	Government				Chronological Period from to
49	Kōnin				Hōki	1-11
	"				Ten-ō	1
50	Kammu				*"Enryaku	1-2
	"					1-25
51	Heijō				Daidō	1- 4
52	Saga				"	4- 5
	"				Kōnin	1-14
53	Junwa*				"	14-15
	"				Tenchō	1-10
54	Nimmyō				"	10-11
	"				*Shōwa	1-15
	"				Kashō	1- 3
55	Montoku				"	3- 4
	"				Ninju	1- 4
	"				Saikō	1- 4
	"				Ten-an	1- 2
56	Seiwa	×Sesshō	"	"	Jōkan	2- 3
	"	"	"	"	"	1-14
	"	"	"	Mototsune	"	14-18
57	Yōzai	"	"	"	Gankei	18-19
	"	"	"	"		1- 8
58	Kōkō	"	"	"	"	8- 9
	"	"	"	"	*Ninna	1- 3
59	Uda	×Kampaku	"	"	"	3- 5
	"	"	"	"	*Kambyō	1- 2
	"	"	"		"	2- 9
60	Daigo					9-10
	"				Shōtai	1- 4
	"				Engi	1-23
	"				Enchō	1- 8
61	Sujaku	Sesshō	"	Tadahiro	"	8- 9
	"	"	"		Jōhei	1- 8
	"	"	"		Tengyō	1- 4
	"	Kampaku	"		"	4- 9
62	Murakami	"	"	"	"	9-10
	"	"	"	"	Tenryaku	1- 3
	"				"	3-11
	"				Tentoku	1- 5
	"				Ōwa	1- 4
	"				Kōhō	1- 4

Japanese Year from to	Christian Year from to	Era	Remarks
1,430-1,440	770 - 780		
1,441	781		
1,441-1,442	781 - 782		
1,442-1,466	782 - 806	1444 (Enryaku 3)	*(Alter. Pro. Enreki)
1,466-1,469	806 - 809		
1,469-1,470	809 - 810		
1,470-1,483	810 - 823		
1,483-1,484	823 - 824		*(Alter. Pro. Junna)
1,484-1,493	824 - 833		
1,493-1,494	833 - 834		
1,494-1,508	834 - 848		*(Alter. Pro. Jōwa)
1,508-1,510	848 - 850		
1,510-1,511	850 - 851		
1,511-1,514	851 - 854		
1,514-1,517	854 - 857		
1,517-1,518	857 - 858		*Prime Minister.
1,518-1,519	858 - 859		
1,519-1,532	859 - 872		
1,532-1,536	872 - 876		
1,536-1,537	876 - 877		
1,537-1,544	877 - 884		
1,544-1,545	884 - 885		
1,545-1,547	885 - 887		*(Alter. Pro. Ninwa)
1,547-1,549	887 - 889		
1,549-1,550	889 - 890		
1,550-1,557	890 - 897		×Chief Councillor. *(Alter. Pro. Kampei)
1,557-1,558	897 - 898		
1,558-1,561	898 - 901		
1,561-1,583	901 - 923		
1,583-1,590	923 - 930		
1,590-1,591	930 - 931		
1,591-1,598	931 - 938		
1,598-1,601	938 - 941		
1,601-1,606	941 - 946		
1,606-1,607	946 - 947		
1,607-1,609	947 - 949		
1,609-1,617	949 - 957		
1,617-1,621	957 - 961		
1,621-1,624	961 - 964		
1,624-1,627	964 - 967		

No	Emperors & Empresses	Government			Chronological Period from to	
63	Reizei	Kampaku	Fujiwara	Saneyori	Kōhō Anwa	4- 5 1- 2
	"	"	"	"		
64	Enyū	Sesshō	"	"	Tenroku	2- 3 1
	"	"	"	"		1- 3
	"	Kampaku	"	Koretada Kanemichi	"	3- 4
	"	"	"	"	Ten-en	1- 4
	"	"	"	"	Jōgen	1- 2
	"	Dajō Daijin	"	Yoritada	"	2- 3
	"	"	"	"	Tengen	1- 6
	"	"	"	"	Eikan	1- 2
65	Kazan	"	"	"	"	2- 3
	"	"	"	"	Kanwa	1- 2
66	Ichijō	Sesshō	"	Kaneiye	"	2- 3
	"	"	"	"	Eien	1- 3
	"	Dajō Daijin	"	"	Eiso	1- 2
	"	Kampaku	"	"		2
	"	Sesshō	"	Michitaka	"	2
	"	"	"	"	Shoryaku	1- 4
	"	Kampaku	"	"	Chōtoku	4- 6
	"	"	"	Michikane	"	1
	"	xUdaijin	"	Michinaga	"	1
	"	*Sadaijin	"	"	Chōhō	2- 5
	"	"	"	"	Chōhō	1- 6
	"	"	"	"	Kankō	1- 8
67	Sanjō	"	"	"	"	8- 9
	"	"	"	"	Chōwa	1- 5
68	Goichijyō	Sesshō	"	"	"	5- 6
	"	"	"	Yorimichi	Kannin	1- 3
	"	Kampaku	"	"	"	5- 5
	"	"	"	"	Jian	1- 4
	"	"	"	"	Manju	1- 5
	"	"	"	"	Chōgen	1- 9
69	Gosujyaku	"	"	"	"	9-10
	"	"	"	"	*Chōryaku	1- 4
	"	"	"	"	Chōkyū	1- 5
	"	"	"	"	Kantaku	1- 2
70	Goreizei	"	"	"	Kantoku	1- 2
	"	"	"	"	*Eijyō	1- 8
	"	"	"	"	xTengi	1- 6
	"	"	"	"	Kōhei	1- 8
	"	"	"	"	*Jiryaku	1- 3
	"	"	"	"	"	4
71	Gosanjyō	"	"	"	"	4- 5
	"	"	"	"	Enkyū	1- 4

Japanese Year from to	Christian Year from to	Era	Remarks
1,627-1,628	967 - 968		
1,628-1,629	968 - 969		(Alter. Pro. Anna)
1,629-1,630	969 - 970		
1,630	970		
1,630-1,632	970 - 972		
1,632-1,633	972 - 973		
1,633-1,636	973 - 976		
1,636-1,637	976 - 977		
1,637-1,638	977 - 978		
1,638-1,643	978 - 983		
1,643-1,644	983 - 984		
1,644-1,645	984 - 985		
1,645-1,646	985 - 986		(Alter. Pro. Kanna)
1,646-1,647	986 - 987		
1,647-1,649	987 - 989		
1,649-1,650	989 - 990		(Alter. Pro. Eishō)
1,650	990		
1,650	990		
1,650-1,653	990 - 993		(Alter. Pro. Shōreki)
1,653-1,655	993 - 995		
1,655	995		
1,655	995		
1,656-1,659	996 - 999		
1,659-1,664	999-1,004		
1,664-1,671	1,004-1,011		
1,671-1,672	1,011-1,012		
1,672-1,676	1,012-1,016		
1,676-1,677	1,016-1,016		
1,677-1,679	1,017-1,019		
1,679-1,681	1,019-1,021		
1,681-1,684	1,021-1,024		
1,684-1,688	1,024-1,028		
1,688-1,696	1,028-1,036		
1,696-1,697	1,036-1,037		
1,697-1,700	1,037-1,040		
1,700-1,704	1,040-1,044		
1,704-1,705	1,044-1,045		
1,705-1,706	1,045-1,046		
1,706-1,713	1,046-1,053		
1,713-1,718	1,053-1,058		
1,718-1,725	1,058-1,065		
1,725-1,727	1,065-1,067		
1,728	1,068		
1,728-1,729	1,068-1,069		
1,729-1,732	1,069-1,072		

*The Junior Minister of State.

*The Senior Administrator of State.

No.	Emperors & Empresses	Government	Chronological Period from to
72	Shirakawa	Kampaku Fujiwara Yotimichi	Enkyū 4-6
	"	" "	×Jyōhō 1-2
	"	" "	Motozane 2-4
	"	" "	×Jyōryaku 1-5
	"	" "	Eiō 1-4
	"	" "	Ōtoku 1-3
73	Horikawa	*Insei Shirakawa ×Hō-ō	3-4
	"	" "	Kanjī 1-8
	"	" "	Kahō 1-3
	"	" "	Eichō 1-2
	"	" "	×Jōtoku 1-3
	"	" "	Kōwa 1-6
	"	" "	Chōji 1-3
	"	" "	×Kajyō 1-2
74	Toba	" "	2-3
	"	" "	Tennin 1-3
	"	" "	Ten-ei 1-4
	"	" "	Eikyū 1-6
	"	" "	Gen-ei 1-3
	"	" "	Hōan 1-4
75	Sutoku	" "	4-5
	"	" "	Tenji 1-3
	"	" "	Daiji 1-4
	"	" Toba Hō-ō	4-6
	"	" "	×Tenjyō 1-2
	"	" "	×Cnōjyō 1-4
	"	" "	Hōen 1-7
	"	" "	Eiiji 1
76	Konoye	" "	1-2
	"	" "	Kōji 1-3
	"	" "	Ten-yō 1-2
	"	" "	Kyūan 1-7
	"	" "	×Nimbyō 1-4
	"	" "	Kyūjyu 1-2
77	Goshirakawa	" "	2-3
	"	" "	Hogen 1-3
78	Nijyō	Insei Goshirakawa Hō-ō	3-4
	"	" "	Heiji 1-2
	"	" "	×Eiryaku 1-2
	"	" "	Ōhō 1-3
	"	" "	Chōkan 1-3
	"	" "	Eiman 1
79	Rokujuyō	" "	1-2
71	"	" "	Nin-an 1-2

Japanese Year from to	Christian Year from to	Era	Remarks
1,732-1,734	1,072-1,074		
1,734-1,735	1,074-1,075		×(Alter Pro. Shōhō)
1,735-1,737	1,075-1,077		
1,737-1,741	1,077-1,081		×(" , , Shōreki)
1,741-1,744	1,081-1,084		
1,744-1,746	1,084-1,086		
1,746-1,747	1,086-1,087		
1,747-1,754	1,087-1,094		
1,754-1,756	1,094-1,096		
1,756-1,757	1,096-1,097		
1,757-1,759	1,097-1,099		
1,759-1,764	1,099-1,104		
1,764-1,766	1,104-1,106		
1,766-1,767	1,106-1,107		×(" , , Kashō)
1,767-1,768	1,107-1,108		
1,768-1,770	1,108-1,110		
1,770-1,773	1,110-1,113		
1,773-1,778	1,113-1,118		
1,778-1,780	1,118-1,120		
1,780-1,783	1,120-1,123		
1,783-1,784	1,123-1,124		
1,784-1,786	1,124-1,126		
1,786-1,789	1,126-1,129		
1,789-1,791	1,129-1,131		
1,791-1,792	1,131-1,232		×(" , , Tenshō)
1,792-1,793	1,132-1,135		×(" , , Chōshō)
1,795-1,801	1,135-1,141		
1,801	1,141		
1,801-1,802	1,141-1,142		
1,802-1,804	1,142-1,144		
1,804-1,805	1,144-1,145		
1,805-1,811	1,145-1,151		
1,811-1,814	1,151-1,154		×(" , , Nimei)
1,814-1,815	1,154-1,155		
1,815-1,816	1,155-1,156		
1,816-1,818	1,156-1,158		
1,818-1,819	1,158-1,159		
1,819-1,820	1,159-1,160		
1,820-1,821	1,160-1,161		×(" , , Eireki)
1,821-1,823	1,161-1,163		
1,823-1,825	1,163-1,165		
1,825	1,165		
1,825-1,826	1,165-1,166		
1,826-1,827	1,166-1,167		

No.	Emperors & Empresses	Government		Chronological Period from to
	Rokujo	Insei Goshiraka	Daijō Daijin	Nin-an
80	Takakura	Hōō	Taira-no-Kiyomori	2- 3
	"	"	"	3- 4
	"	"	"	1- 3
	"	"	"	1- 5
	"	"	"	1- 3
	"	"	"	1- 4
81	Antoku	"	"	4- 5
	"	"	"	1- 2
	"	"	"	1- 3
	"	"	"	3- 4
82	Gotoba			Bunji
	"			Kenkyū
	"	Kamakura Shōgun	"	"
83	Tsuchimikado	"	Minamoto-no-Yoritomo	3- 9
	"	"	"	9-10
	"	"	Minamoto-no-Yoritomo	1- 3
	"	"	Minamoto-no-Yoritomo	1- 3
	"	"	Minamoto-no-Sanetomo	3- 4
	"	"	"	Genkyū
	"	"	"	Ken-ei
	"	"	"	Jōgen
84	Juntoku	"	"	4- 5
	"	"	"	Kenryaku
	"	"	"	Kempō
	"	"	"	Jōkyū
85	Chūkyō	"	"	"
86	Goharikawa			3- 4
	"			1- 3
	"			1- 2
	"			1- 2
	"	Fujiwara Yoritsune		2- 3
	"	"	"	Antei
	"	"	"	X Kangi
	"	"	"	X Jōei
87	Shijyō	Kamakura Shōgun	Fujiwara Yoritsune	Jōei
	"	"	"	Tempuku
	"	"	"	Bunryaku
	"	"	"	Katei
	"	"	"	Ryakunin
	"	"	"	En-ō
	"	"	"	Ninji
88	Gosaga	"	"	3- 4
	"	"	"	1- 2
	"	Fujiwara Yoritsugu	"	2- 4
				Kangen

Japanese Year from to	Christian Year from to	Era	Remarks
1,827-1,828	1,167-1,168		
1,828-1,829	1,168-1,169		
1,829-1,831	1,169-1,171		
1,831-1,835	1,171-1,175		
1,835-1,837	1,175-1,177		
1,837-1,840	1,177-1,180		
1,840-1,841	1,180-1,181		
1,841-1,842	1,181-1,182		
1,842-1,844	1,182-1,184		
1,844-1,845	1,184-1,185		
1,845-1,850	1,185-1,190		
1,850-1,852	1,190-1,192		
1,852-1,858	1,192-1,198		
1,858-1,859	1,198-1,199		
1,859-1,861	1,199-1,201		
1,861-1,863	1,201-1,203		
1,863-1,864	1,203-1,204		
1,864-1,866	1,204-1,206		
1,866-1,867	1,206-1,207		
1,867-1,870	1,207-1,210		
1,870-1,871	1,210-1,211		
1,871-1,873	1,211-1,213		
1,873-1,879	1,213-1,219		
1,879-1,881	1,219-1,221		
1,881	1,221		
1,881-1,882	1,221-1,222		
1,882-1,884	1,222-1,224		
1,884-1,885	1,224-1,225		
1,885-1,886	1,225-1,226		
1,886-1,887	1,226-1,227		
1,887-1,889	1,227-1,229		
1,889-1,892	1,229-1,232		
1,892	1,232		
1,892-1,893	1,232-1,233		
1,893-1,894	1,233-1,234		
1,894-1,895	1,234-1,235		
1,895-1,898	1,235-1,238		
1,898-1,899	1,238-1,239		
1,899-1,900	1,239-1,240		
1,900-1,902	1,240-1,242		
1,902-1,903	1,242-1,243		
1,903-1,904	1,243-1,244		
1,904-1,906	1,244-1,246		

1845.
Juel 4.

x It was 1862, when he was appointed to the Shūguo.

x (Alter, Pro. Kenreki)

x (" " Shōkyū)

x (" " Tei-o)

x (" " Kanki)

x (" " Telei)

(" " Bunreki)

(" " Rekinin)

No.	Emperors & Empresses	Government			Chronological Period from to
89	Gofukakusa	Kamakura			
		Shōgun	Fujiwara Yoritsugu		Kangen 4- 5
		"	"	"	Hōji 1- 3
		"	"	*Munetaka Shinnō	Kenchō 1- 4
		"	"	"	4- 8
		"	"	"	Kōgen 1- 2
		"	"	"	Shōka 1- 3
		"	"	"	Shōgen 1
90	Kameyama				
		"	"	"	Bun-ō 1- 2
		"	"	"	Kōchō 1- 2
		"	"	"	Bun-ei 1- 3
		"	Koreyasu Shinnō	"	3-11
91	Go-uda	"	"	"	11-12
		"	"	"	Kenji 1- 4
		"	"	"	Kōan 1-10
92	Fushimi	"	"	"	10-11
		"	"	"	I- 2
		"	Hisakira Shinnō	"	2- 6
		"	"	"	I- 6
93	Gofushimi	"	"	"	6- 7
		"	"	"	I- 3
94	Gonijyō	"	"	"	3- 4
		"	"	"	I- 2
		"	"	"	I- 4
		"	"	"	I- 3
95	Hanazono		Morikuni Shinnō		3
		"	"	"	Enkyō 1- 4
		"	"	"	Ōchō 1- 2
		"	"	"	Shōwa 1- 6
		"	"	"	Bumpo 1- 2
96	Godaigo	"			
		"	"	"	Bumpō 2- 3
		"	"	"	Gen-ō 1- 3
		"	"	"	Genko 1- 4
		"	"	"	Shōchū 1- 3
		"	"	"	Karyaku 1- 4
		"	"	"	Gentoku 1- 3
		"	"	"	Genkō 1- 3
		"	"	"	" 3- 4
		"	Morinaga Shinnō	Kemmu	I- 2
(The Southern Dynasty)		"	"	"	2- 3
		"	Narinaga Shinnō	Engen	I- 4
97	Gomurakami			"	4- 5

Japanese Year from to	Christian Year from to	Era	Remarks
1,906-1,907	1,246-1,247		
1,907-1,909	1,247-1,249		
1,909-1,912	1,249-1,252		
1,912-1,916	1,252-1,256		
1,916-1,917	1,256-1,257		
1,917-1,919	1,257-1,259		
1,919	1,259		
1,919-1,920	1,259-1,260		
1,920-1,921	1,260-1,261		
1,921-1,924	1,261-1,264		
1,924-1,926	1,264-1,266		
1,926-1,934	1,266-1,274		
1,934-1,935	1,274-1,275		
1,935-1,938	1,275-1,278		
1,938-1,947	1,278-1,287		
1,947-1,948	1,287-1,288	Kamakura Era	
1,948-1,949	1,288-1,289		
1,949-1,953	1,289-1,293		
1,953-1,958	1,293-1,298		
1,958-1,959	1,298-1,299		
1,959-1,961	1,299-1,301		
1,961-1,962	1,301-1,302		
1,962-1,963	1,302-1,303		
1,963-1,966	1,303-1,306		
1,966-1,968	1,306-1,308		
1,968	1,308		
1,968-1,971	1,308-1,311		
1,971-1,972	1,311-1,312		
1,972-1,977	1,312-1,317		
1,977-1,978	1,317-1,318		
1,978-1,979	1,318-1,319		
1,979-1,981	1,319-1,321		
1,981-1,984	1,321-1,324		
1,984-1,986	1,324-1,326		
1,986-1,989	1,326-1,329		
1,989-1,991	1,329-1,331		
1,991-1,993	1,331-1,333		
1,993-1,994	1,333-1,334		
1,994-1,995	1,334-1,335	Yoshino Era	(The Northern Dynasty)
1,995-1,996	1,335-1,336		
1,996-1,999	1,336-1,339		
1,999-2,000	1,339-1,340	Genkō	NAME JAPAN. YEAR. Kōmyōin (1,996-2,008) Sūkōin (2,005-2,011)

*His Highness Prince Munetaka.

No.	Emperors & Empresses	Government	Chronological Period from to
97	Gomurakami		Kōkaku 1- 7
	"		Shōkei 1-23
98	Chōkei		" 23-25
	"		Kentoku 1- 3
	"		Bunchū 1- 4
	"		Tenju 1- 7
	"		Kōwa 1- 3
99	Gokameyama		" Genchū 3- 4
	"		1- 9
100	*Gokomatsu	Ashikaga Shōgun	x " 9-10
	"	"	Meitoku 4- 5
	"	"	Öei 1
	"	"	" 1-19
101	Shōkō	"	" 19-30
	"	"	" 30-32
	"	"	" 32-35
	"	"	Shōchō 1
102	Gohanazona	"	" 1- 2
	"	"	Eikyo 1-13
	"	"	Kakitsu 1
	"	"	" 2- 3
	"	"	" 3- 4
	"	"	Bun-an 1- 6
	"	"	Hōtoku 1- 4
	"	"	Kōtoku 1- 4
	"	"	Kōshō 1- 3
	"	"	Chōroku 1- 4
	"	"	Kanshō 1- 5
103	Gotsuchimikado	"	" 5- 7
	"	"	Bunshō 1- 2
	"	"	Önin 1- 3
	"	"	Bummei 1- 5
	"	"	" 5-19
	"	"	Chōkō 1- 3
	"	"	Entoku 1- 2
	"	"	" 2- 4
	"	"	Meiō 1- 2
	"	"	" 3- 9
104	Gokashiwabara	"	" 9-10
	"	"	Bunki 1- 4
	"	"	Eishō 1- 5
	"	"	" 5-18
	"	"	xDaiei 1- 6
105	Gonara	"	" 6- 8
	"	"	Kōroku 1- 5

Japanese Year from to	Christian Year from to	Era	Remarks
2,000-2,000	1,340-1,346		Gokōgonin
2,006-2,028	1,346-1,368		Goen-yūin
2,028-2,030	1,368-1,370	Yoshino Era	*Gokomatsu in (2,042-2,052)
2,030-2,032	1,370-1,372		
2,032-2,035	1,372-1,375		
2,035-2,041	1,375-1,381		
2,041-2,043	1,381-1,383		
2,043-2,044	1,383-1,384		
2,044-2,052	1,384-1,392		
2,052-2,053	1,392-1,393		
2,053-2,054	1,393-1,394		
2,054	1,394		
2,054-2,072	1,394-1,412		*Gokomatsu in of the Northern Dynasty and the Emperor Gokomatsu were the same person.
2,072-2,083	1,412-1,423	Genchū Era	x(or Meitoku 3-4)
2,083-2,085	1,423-1,425		
2,085-2,088	1,425-1,428		
2,088	1,428		
2,088-2,089	1,428-1,429		
2,089-2,101	1,429-1,441		
2,101	1,441		
2,102-2,103	1,442-1,443		
2,103-2,104	1,443-1,444		
2,104-2,109	1,444-1,449		
2,109-2,112	1,449-1,452	Muromachi Era	
2,112-2,115	1,452-1,455		
2,115-2,117	1,455-1,457		
2,117-2,120	1,457-1,460		
2,120-2,124	1,460-1,464		
2,124-2,126	1,464-1,466		
2,126-2,127	1,466-1,467		
2,127-2,129	1,467-1,469		
2,129-2,133	1,469-1,473		
2,133-2,147	1,473-1,487		
2,147-2,149	1,487-1,489		
2,149-2,150	1,489-1,490		
2,150-2,152	1,490-1,492		
2,152-2,153	1,492-1,493		
2,154-2,160	1,494-1,500		
2,160-2,161	1,500-1,501		
2,161-2,164	1,501-1,504		
2,164-2,168	1,504-1,508		
2,168-2,181	1,508-1,521		
2,181-2,186	1,521-1,526		
2,186-2,188	1,526-1,528		x(Alter. Pro. Taici)
2,188-2,192	1,528-1,532		

No.	Emperors & Empresses	Government			Chronological Period from to	
115	Sakuramachi	Tokugawa	Tokugawa Yoshimune	Ieshige	Gembun	1- 6
		Shōgun			Kampō	1- 4
		"			Enkyō	1- 2
		"			"	2- 4
116	Momozono	"	"	"	Kan-en ×Hōreki	4- 5
		"	"	"		1- 4
		"	"	"		1-10
		"	"	Ieharu		10-12
117	O Gosakuramachi	"	"	"	Meiwa	12-14
		"	"	"		1- 7
118	Gomomozono	"	"	"	An-ei	7- 9
		"	"	"		1- 8
119	Kōkaku	"	"	"	Temmei Kansai Kyōwa Bunka	8-10
		"	"	"		1- 6
		"	"	Ienari		7- 9
		"	"	"		1-13
		"	"	"		1- 4
		"	"	"		1-14
120	Ninkō	"	"	"	Bunsei Tempō Ieyoshi Kōka	14-15
		"	"	"		1-13
		"	"	"		1- 8
		"	"	Ieyoshi		8-15
		"	"	"		1- 3
121	Kōmei	"	"	"	Kaci Ansei Iemochi Mān-en Bunkyū ×Ganji Kciō Yoshinobu	3- 5
		"	"	"		1- 6
		"	"	Iesada		6- 7
		"	"	"		1- 5
		"	"	Iemochi		5- 7
		"	"	"		1- 2
		"	"	"		1- 4
		"	"	"		1- 2
		"	"	"		1- 2
		"	"	"		2
122	Meiji	"	"	"	" " Meiji	3
		"	"	"		3- 4
		"	"	"		1-45
123	Taishō				Taishō	1-15
124	.....(Hirohito)				Shōwa	1...

Japanese Year from to	Christian Year from to	Era	Remarks
2,396-2,401	1,736-1,741		
2,401-2,404	1,741-1,744		
2,404-2,405	1,744-1,745		
2,405-2,407	1,745-1,747		
2,407-2,408	1,747-1,748		
2,408-2,411	1,748-1,751		
2,411-2,420	1,751-1,760		x (Alter Pro. Hōryaku)
2,420-2,422	1,760-1,762		
2,422-2,424	1,762-1,764		
2,424-2,430	1,764-1,770		
2,430-2,432	1,770-1,772		
2,432-2,439	1,772-1,779		
2,439-2,441	1,779-1,781		
2,441-2,446	1,781-1,786		
2,447-2,449	1,787-1,789		
2,449-2,461	1,789-1,801		
2,461-2,464	1,801-1,804		
2,464-2,477	1,804-1,817	Edo Era	
2,477-2,478	1,817-1,818		
2,478-2,490	1,818-1,830		
2,490-2,497	1,830-1,837		
2,497-2,504	1,837-1,844		
2,504-2,506	1,844-1,856		
2,506-2,508	1,846-1,848		
2,508-2,513	1,848-1,853		
2,513-2,514	1,853-1,854		
2,514-2,518	1,834-1,858		
2,518-2,520	1,858-1,860		
2,520-2,521	1,860-1,861		
2,521-2,524	1,861-1,864		
2,524-1,525	1,864-1,865		x (Alter. Pro. Genji)
2,525-2,526	1,865-1,866		
2,526	1,866		
2,527	1,867		
2,527-2,528	1,867-1,868		
2,528-2,572	1,868-1,912	2,527. Keio 3.	
2,572-2,586	1,912-1,926		
2,586	1,926		

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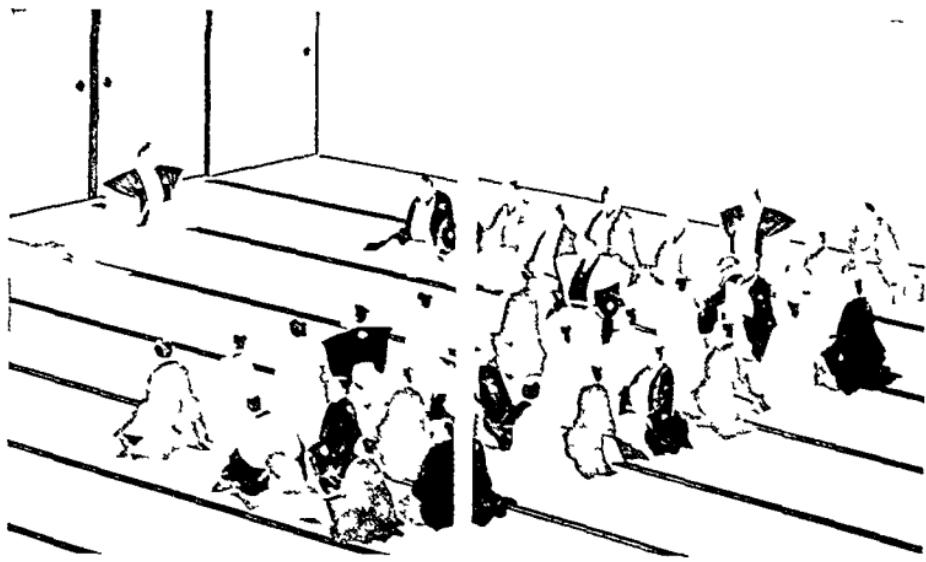
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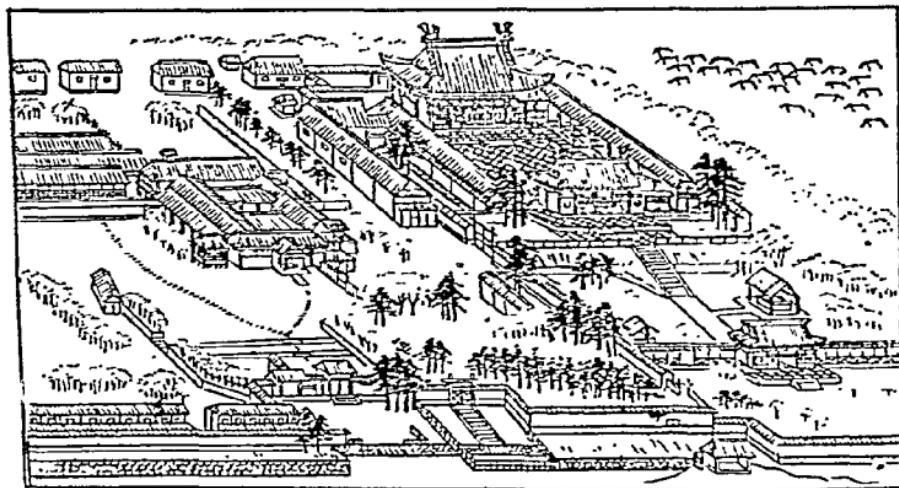
HISTORY OF JAPANESE EDUCATION AND PRESENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM



Instruction in the Shoheiko



Terakoya (lit. "Temple Hut") or School of "Three R's" in Yedo



Seido Main Building and the Shoheiko University in Edo Period.



Instruction and Discussion in the Shoheiko.

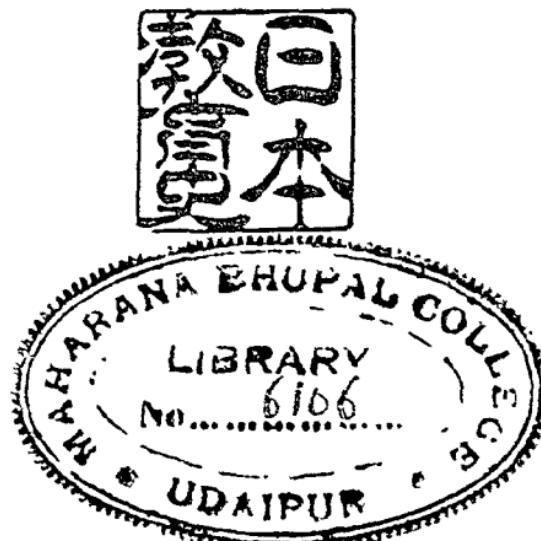
HISTORY
OF
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PRESENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY

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To

Our Japanese Colleagues and Friends

PREFACE

In preparing this study of Japanese Education, the authors have, of necessity, relied upon and have received a great deal of assistance from the Japanese Department of Education (the Monbusho). This assistance has been given freely and generously. Due to the high degree of centralization of the Japanese Educational System, moreover, it has been possible to obtain from the Department accurate and detailed information concerning matters that in other countries would have required prolonged and repeated enquiries in diverse local communities.

A word should also be added with regard to the statistics employed in this study. These have been taken in general from the Report published in English in 1936 but covering the years 1929-1930. (This delay in the publication of statistics is a constant but not particularly important factor that must be taken into consideration in any study of Japanese education). Fortunately for the authors' purpose there have been no radical changes in the statistical picture during the last seven years. Nevertheless, wherever it has been necessary or desirable, later figures have been obtained from unpublished sources and have been used here with the authority and approval of the Department of Education.

The authors wish to acknowledge with much gratitude the valuable help so generously given by Professor

K. Goda of the Bureau of Social Education in the Department of Education, and of the Tokyo Higher Normal School. Professor Goda kindly undertook to check all the statistics and statements contained in this volume with the Ministry's records, and to offer his advice on the many moot points which arose during the writing of the volume. Their thanks are extended also to Sir George B. Sansom, K. C. M. G., Commercial Counsellor to the British Embassy, Tokyo, for so kindly reading through the historical chapters, and to Mr. Y. Mikasa, Chief Translator of the Canadian Legation in Tokyo, for preparing translations of many documents and records.

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PART I.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To search the old is to find the new.

—Confucius.

THE only safe way to approach the study of present-day Japan is through her past. This is true in a particular way of the history of Japan's education. The student who believes that it is enough to know Japan from the time of the Restoration in 1868 can never understand the country, and least of all her modern system of education and its many ramifications throughout her national life.

The student of post-Restoration Japan is apt to content himself with seeing in her national education what he considers nothing but undigested ideas from the West. This is because he sees much on the surface of what Japan has imported from Europe and America, though he is scarcely able to recognize it as quite the exported article. In many departments of Japan's national education he will find no more than the shadow of the Western ideas which Japanese educationists have adopted. He is then apt to assume that Japan is consequently superficial in her education, because she cannot reproduce alien ideas just as they were exported to her. Here the student has to learn the secret of Japan's past and present. It is her native genius to adopt, adapt and assimilate. Thus Japan has converted almost all adopted Western methods of education to her peculiar needs, and in conformity with her national spirit and ideals. This means that there is a constant cultural assimilation progressing in Japan. It naturally follows that along with that which she has assimilated from abroad

there is much undigested material which the near-sighted Western student, who sees no more than the contemporary, is in danger of misinterpreting as nothing but a native genius for wholesale imitation rather than a gift for judicious assimilation. Where such a student finds that what Japan has adopted from the West is not quite up to the standard of the country of its creation, he becomes disappointed, as so many do who would completely westernize Japan's culture and national education without respect to her native genius. In approaching, therefore, the History of Japanese Education, the student cannot afford to lose sight of this Japanese native genius, which, while adopting what the Japanese consider best suited to their needs, assimilates what it believes to be most in keeping with Japan's national ideals. Much of this assimilation is unconscious, and some is only achieved after costly experimentation and even bitter experiences. However, this national trait is a facet of the Japanese genius which few will deny, and none can afford to overlook.

In studying this Japanese trait, the student of Japan is often reminded of what Emerson wrote of the English, who in their genius to assimilate foreign influences are probably most akin to the Japanese. In his "English Traits," Emerson wrote of the English that "more intelligent than many races, they successfully adopt from them what they will, and transform it to their own advantage, thereby creating a new culture." It is the same with the Japanese. It has been the same throughout their history, but more intensively since the Imperial Restoration of 1868.

But with this new synthetic culture of Japan today there is nevertheless that which is traditionally Japanese, which remains intact, and which will probably never change. This makes it all the more imperative to study Japan's early culture and feudal education in order to understand the rather complicated system and problems of her national education today.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Looking over her history up to 1868, the student clearly sees that Japan has devoted periods to adopting as much as possible, mostly from her neighbours in the Far East, and from a few countries in the West, and since the Restoration from the world at large. Then, by periods of self-imposed isolation, Japan has steadfastly set herself to assimilate what her genius permits, and to reject what she finds quite foreign to that native genius, or as unprofitable to her needs. In this Japan has shown herself unashamedly pragmatic. But this is the prerogative of an insular people, and the cause of their opportunism throughout the centuries, just as it has been with the English.

In judging the relative importance to Japan of these cycles of imported foreign ideas, and of the periods of isolation to serve as "digestive periods," the student will doubtless find the following Comparative Chronological Table of some use. For convenience' sake a chronological comparison is made with the various cultural periods of the West.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Periods	Remarks
Archaic Period : From paleolithic times to the middle of 6th Century A.D. (China, Han Dynasty) (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome.	The Japanese Empire has already been consolidated, and it may be called the period of primitive Shinto. But proto-historic bronze mirrors found in burial-mounds bear designs of the Han Period, proving Chinese influence on Japanese art.
Suiko Period : 552-645 (China, Six Dynasties) (265-589, Sui 590-671) Byzantium, St. Benedict, Justinian.	Period of early Buddhist art. In 552 Buddhism was introduced. Shotoku Taishi (573-622) was the great patron of Buddhism. Chinese influence was first strongly felt in social life, resulting mainly from the direct contact between Japan and China through the famous envoy Ono-no-Imoko and his successors.

Nara Period :

616-793

(China, Tāng Dynasty)
(618-906)

Mohammed,

Fall of Sassanid Dynasty, 651.

The capital was permanently established at Nara in 710. Japan continued to maintain direct contact with China under the Tāng Emperors, and civil reforms were instituted according to the Tāng code. The Chinese art of Tāng was greatly influenced by Indian, as well as by Persian art, and in turn its influence was soon felt by Japan.

Heian Period :

794-893

(China, Tāng 618-906)

Charlemagne,

Alfred the Great.

Romanesque Art

800-1150.

The capital was removed in 794 from Nara to Heian (Kyoto). Chinese influence of later Tāng still continues. In 894 contact with China was interrupted. Tendai and Shingon, the two great sects of esoteric Buddhism, were founded in Japan by Dengyō and Kōbō. This was the period of esoteric Buddhist art.

Fujiwara Period :

894-1185

(China, Five Dynasties)

(907-959; Sung 960-1126)

Capetian Dynasty, Norman Conquest, Abelard and origin of universities, First Crusade.

Notre Dame, 1163.

After the suspension of intercourse with China, the nationalizing spirit developed, and Japan began to assimilate the continental culture imported during the former three centuries, thereby to express the taste and ideas of the Japanese. The head of the Fujiwara family came to play the most important rôle in the court and government, and the art of this period was characterized by refined delicacy.

Kamakura Period :

1186-1333

(China, South Sung Dynasty)
(1127-1279; Yüan Dynasty)

(1280-1367)

Marco Polo, Magna Carta. Gothic Art, 1150-1400, Church of St. Francis of Assisi begun, Dante b. 1265.

China was again fully opened to Japan for trade and inspiration. The Zen sect of Buddhism was introduced and welcomed at Kamakura. Kamakura art was realistic under the inspiration of the martial spirit and new religious movement.

Muromachi Period :

1334-1573

(China, Ming 1368-1643),

The new Shogunate government was established in Kyoto by Ashikaga Shogun; and Kyoto became once again the centre of Japan's civilization. The eighth shogun,

1400-1500
 Michelangelo b. 1474,
 Raphael, b. 1483,
 Discovery of New
 World, 1492,
 Sea route to India
 from Europe, 1498.
 Renaissance Art.

Momoyama Period :

1574-1614.
 (China, Ming 1368-1643)
 Expansion of Europe
 Renaissance,
 1500-1600.

Yoshimasa, was known as the patron of art. In 1542, Antony de Moto, a Portuguese, came to Japan, and in the following year Mendes Pinto brought guns to Japan.

Yedo Period :

1615-1866.
 (China, Ching 1644-1911)
 Puritan England, Louis
 XIV, Bach, Locke (1690),
 Voltaire, American and
 French Revolutions.
 Late Renaissance 1600-
 1800.
 Baroque,
 Rococo.

The first half of the second period of nationalization. At the beginning, Oda Nobunaga took the place of the Ashikaga family, but soon afterwards he was succeeded by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. The Momoyama art was the creation of Hideyoshi's taste and lofty imagination. It was characterized by a grand scale, magnificent form and bright colours.

Meiji-Taisho Period :

1867-1926.
 (China, Republic 1911-)
 World War, 1914-1918.
 League of Nations,
 Soviet Revolution,
 Realism in Literature and
 Art.

The latter half of the second period of nationalization. In 1603, Ieyasu became Shogun and established his Shogunate in Yedo (Tokyo). Later, Iyemitsu closed Japan from 1639, and she remained closed to outside influence until feudalism was abolished in 1867. From 1603 to 1867 Japan was administered by the Shogunate, though the Emperors nominally ruled. During this period, literature and the arts made their first remarkable progress among the masses.

The Imperial sovereignty was restored in 1867 by the retirement of the last Shogun of Tokugawa, and the new era was inaugurated with the removal of the Imperial residence from Kyoto to Yedo in 1868, when the city changed its name to Tokyo. Intercourse with the West was opened again and the people welcomed everything new from the West and even ignored their native culture. But later on they were to return to things purely Japanese, as the reaction set in.

Shōwa Era:

1926—present time.

China—National Movement under Kuomintang, Communism, Fascism, Manchoukuo, Scientific and Industrial Progress.

Japan is now in daily touch with Western culture, but she is striving once again to reinforce her national spirit. She is showing increasing creative ability in her social life, and in all branches of her culture. It is definitely a period of introspection and cultural assimilation.

CHINESE INFLUENCE

In studying the effects of the Chinese civilisation upon the Japanese, the student has to remember that Japan's method of approaching China was the same as that which she has employed with the West since the Restoration. This was by learning as much as Japan thought she needed of Chinese philosophy, art and science, and then, during periods of relative isolation, ruminating to make it all her own. Japan's debt to China is therefore immeasurable. Even up to the eve of the Restoration, the Tokugawa era was profoundly affected by the Chinese classics. The great Sung scholar Chutzu's interpretations of Confucianism were almost officially accepted by the Tokugawa Shogunate. During the same era there were the eminent Japanese Confucian scholars, Nakae-Toju and Kumazawa-Banzan, who reflected the long influence in Japan of Wang Yangming, who was the positive interpreter of Confucian philosophy in the Ming period of China. Then there was Taoism, or the teaching of Lao-tzu as embodied in the Tao-te-king, which Japanese scholars so deeply studied, and which seems to have exerted considerable influence on Zen Buddhism. In the Tokugawa era Japanese children of the middle and upper classes were taught to read Confucian books and to copy their maxims as practice in calligraphy. But this was abandoned when Japan reorganized her public education on semi-Occidental lines from 1872, in which year the new system was proclaimed through the first Education Code. Yet there is nothing in Japan today which remains wholly Chinese, just as there is nothing of the West in Japan which remains wholly Western by the time the Japanese

have assimilated it to conform to their own peculiar spirit. Thus, in Japanese architecture and art the Chinese influence is evident. Yet the difference between them is remarkable, even to the casual observer. In Japanese architecture the lines are more subdued than in the Chinese style. In her art Japan has taken much from China and simplified it in keeping with that indigenous spirit of hers which is so allied to nature and that which is simple or unadorned. In this connection Professor Nyozekan Hasegawa says:—⁽¹⁾ “‘Naturalness’ and ‘real’ are the attributes of the spirit of Japanese civilization. This explains the absence of metaphysics in Japan.”

It would therefore be difficult to understand Japan’s system of education today without bearing in mind the early Chinese influence. Japan’s civilization before the Restoration of 1868 came from China. In the early days, Japan had copied, and then transformed to conform to her own genius, Chinese religion, art, writing, philosophy and ethics. This is easier to understand when it is remembered that though Japan claims almost 2,600 years of history, China’s history dates from at least the second millennium B. C.

After the Restoration, Japan’s pragmatic volte-face from China to the West taught her that for her immediate needs she had little or nothing more to learn from China. In matters of civilization China was now *vieux jeu* to her. Few Japanese except the older generation believed that much good could come out of China in ethics, education and culture generally. The younger generation, on seeing how old-fashioned much in China was when compared with the West, and indeed even as judged by the already rapidly evolving Japan at the end of the 19th Century, were contemptuous of the Chinese and their ways. Yet Chinese classics still continued to be taught in the Japanese schools, but only insofar as they conformed to the Japanese spirit, and because they provided that linguistic study essential to a perfect understanding of the Chinese characters still in the Japanese language. Regarding the Japanese language it-

(1) *Educational and Cultural Background of the Japanese People* by Nyozekan Hasegawa (Society for International Cultural Relations, Tokyo), p. 9.

self, few phases of her civilization better symbolize the manner in which Japan has taken of China and the West and transformed all to her own use. In fact, the more the student goes into the question the more he is convinced that whatever the Japanese have adopted, believing it to suit their peculiar needs as a people, they have in time digested it fairly well and made it part of their native culture. The Japanese showed this attitude clearly in the earliest stages of their literature, and they have continued the same approach to other nations and their civilizations up to the present day. The same may be said of Japan's national education and the manner in which it has developed.

EFFECTS OF MANCHURIAN INCIDENT ON JAPAN'S EDUCATION

At a time when Western influence had begun to decline somewhat in Japan there came the "Manchurian Incident" on September 18, 1931. It would be difficult to imagine so great an event in Japanese history without its having some influence on her national education. It turned Japan's attention to the new Manchoukuo, and to China from a different angle. The Japanese schools began to take more interest in the new state and in things Chinese, especially the rise of Modern China and the Chinese reactions to Manchoukuo. Further, students in the middle schools, who before had rarely taken advantage of the right to study Chinese as an optional language instead of English, now began to see the practical wisdom of doing so. In the commercial universities, higher commercial schools and foreign language schools it had been the weakest students in language study who had been induced to study Chinese, because with its close resemblance to Japanese as a written language it was easier. With the rise of Manchoukuo, however, the Chinese language became popular among Japanese, who were now keen to study spoken Chinese as well as the literature. This was because in Manchoukuo there were good administrative posts for young Japanese who knew how to write and speak Mandarin. Since all the professors of Chinese

in the Japanese schools mentioned above were from North China, they were able to offer to these keen students quite enough in a course of three or four years to enable them to qualify for promising posts in the civil service or one of the large Japanese business-houses operating in Manchoukuo. Since students are now finding it so difficult to obtain posts on their graduation in Japan, where higher education is so cheap and the people so prolific, many Japanese college and university graduates welcome this new and profitable outlet. This revived contact with Manchoukuo will doubtless provide in turn yet another channel for Japan to adopt new ideas. In fact, it is already proving so. But, as always, the Japanese will continue to convert to their own needs whatever new culture they may adopt from Manchoukuo, and transform it in conformity with their indigenous spirit. The Japanese genius to adopt and adapt will persist. Consequently, whatever new inroads Japan makes in the world with a view to imperial development, the student is constantly reminded of what Bertrand Russell wrote in his book, "The Problem of China."⁽¹⁾ Writing of "Modern Japan," he states:—"The modern Japanese nation is unique, not only in this age but in the history of the world. It combines elements which most Europeans would have supposed totally incompatible, and it has realized an original plan to a degree hardly known in human affairs. The Japan which now exists is almost exactly that which was intended by the leaders of the Restoration in 1867."

It is some knowledge of this "combining of what seems totally incompatible" that enables the student of modern Japan to appreciate her national education, for it is there that he sees best the assimilation at work.

DECLINING INFLUENCE OF WEST

This revived interest in Manchoukuo and China is therefore more economic than cultural. Culturally, Japan is still looking to the West for more to adopt and assimilate. How-

(1) "The Problem of China" by Bertrand Russell (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London), 1922, p. 97.

ever, in these days she is looking less than she did a few years ago. There is a wave of nationalism at present which is greatly affecting education in the country. The result is that the Japanese are beginning to look with some contempt on much that the West has to offer them today. This is perhaps hardly surprising when they see the parlous state in which Europe in particular is at present. Their contempt is showing itself in many ways. Not the least important is a growing hostility to the study of Western languages. In the past, Japan's enthusiasm for the study of English was unbounded. Today there is a change. In the Meiji era many Japanese studied English merely for its cultural value. Today it is the practical value of foreign languages which counts. There is no longer an English Professor of Literature in the Imperial University of Tokyo. In fact, there has not been one there for some years now. The Chair of English Literature which Lafcadio Hearn graced is now shared by two Japanese professors of the Imperial University. Other universities have followed suit. This is a sign of the times.

It is true that the year 1937 sees a certain revival of interest in the study of English. In Tokyo, many new private English language schools have been opened. But this is because of the 1940 Olympic Games, when Japanese youths believe there will be adequate opportunity to capitalize their practical knowledge of English in catering for the 80,000 foreign visitors who are expected to come to Japan in 1940. But the old faith in the cultural value of English has no concern with this. Further, this temporary revival in the study of English is only observed to any extent in Tokyo, where the 1940 Olympic Games are to be held. The rest of the country is scarcely affected.

From this then it will be seen that the Japanese are becoming increasingly circumspect in what they import, either in education or in models of any kind from the West. Still, Japan would not deny that since the Restoration she owes at least as much to the West as she ever owed to China, Korea and India before the Restoration.

What is specially striking in Japan's national genius is her ability to short-circuit so much of the scientific progress which the West took centuries to make. It is true that Japan has been able to profit from many of the mistakes which the West made, though not from all, unfortunately. It would, therefore, be absurd to claim that she has made no mistakes, either in her educational system or in other branches of her national life since the Restoration. She has made many. Still, in short-circuiting the Western progress as she has done, it is indeed praiseworthy that Japan should have made so few mistakes. What nation in the West could short-circuit the East's culture for the past three hundred years and not make mistakes? Japan's insular character, and her feverish haste to assimilate the maximum in the shortest possible time, have been the cause of her gravest errors. It has also resulted in much new wine in old bottles, which is largely the reason for the underlying turmoil in thought and society today in Japan. Yet by nature the Japanese are still quite ready to try out the newly-imported. But the ratio of mistakes they make today in adopting from other countries is lower than before, since experience has taught them prudence, and also they now have less need to adopt.

Then, again, in the matter of adoption from the West, it must not be forgotten that the Japanese are by nature an artistic people. For an island and artistic people, therefore, to adopt in so short a time a highly industrialized civilization from the West was irksome, to say the least of it. Only the nation's youth and vitality could accept and successfully survive such an ordeal. Geographically situated otherwise, the Japanese would doubtless have avoided many of the mistakes to which they have to confess today. In comparison with Japan's situation, England in her early social and industrial evolution was better placed. England was nearer to the continent of Europe, a fact which was not without its importance when the English selected their cultural raw material from the mainland. The Japanese, however, had for the most part to accept what was offered them, without the

chances of testing its value so easily as had the English of the past. Japan's communications with the continent of Asia were more difficult than England's with Europe. Here it is perhaps not out of place to ask if some of the phases of Japan's present-day aims in education are not the inevitable repercussions of much that the West taught her in the Meiji era, and which was not altogether worthy of imitation, but which the material gain involved caused the West to overlook at the time. In this, the worst phase, and one which is gravely affecting Japan's education, culture and commerce today, is that the West taught the Japanese that it is often economically more profitable to sell the cheap and inferior article, even at the expense of national taste, than it is to sell the best because it is too costly to produce. In a lecture given before the Society for International Cultural Relations, Mr. Nyozeikan Hasegawa said⁽¹⁾ :—

“ Many Westerners seem not to enjoy such pieces of Japanese art as we would consider truly expressive of Japanese taste ; they are apt to prefer what they call ‘ things Asiatic,’ confusing with them things Japanese. The truth is, however, that Japanese æsthetic taste will have nothing to do with this ‘ Orientalism.’ And there, in the difference between ‘ Japanese ’ and ‘ Oriental,’ and there alone, may be found the key to the spirit of Japanese civilization. Nothing sins against our æsthetic sensibility more than those cheap imitations labelled modern ‘ Japanese ’ art objects which you find in hotels and elsewhere in Europe. To be sure, they have been exported from Yokohama. But ‘ things from Yokohama ’ means in this country ‘ Japanese things most un-Japanese.’ Many Westerners are interested in the very qualities that distinguish ‘ un-Japanese ’ things from those truly ‘ Japanese.’ And the Yokohama merchants are busy satisfying this unfortunate taste of Westerners by exporting ‘ Japanese goods most un-Japanese,’ thus educating them to be unfeeling towards the real æstheticism of Japanese civilization. But it is impossible to explain the nature of this Japanese æstheticism, which is the very foundation of Japanese civilization, both material and spiritual.”

Now, even allowing for some slight inconsistency in this statement, it is true that this commercialization has seriously

(1) *Op. cit. pp. 7-8.*

affected Japan's traditional and praiseworthy education in the arts and crafts. This feature of modern Japan is being criticized by her friends abroad. But in fairness to the Japanese it has to be asked if with their imported ideas on education and western ideals they did not learn this lesson of competing with the West by employing western tactics. And is it not rather ironical that in this very matter the Japanese have now changed from student to teacher? Today there come to Japan each year from many parts of the West industrialists and others who are keen to learn how their ex-students do things so efficiently and economically, and what is the system of education which produces workmen capable of competing with the West and producing more intensively.

If then in some respects the Japanese have now become wiser than their old teachers, who in turn are even willing to learn of them, it ought not to be difficult to understand that there must have been some fertile intellectual ground before the Restoration of 1868 which was capable of producing that amazing ability to adopt and assimilate so much of the West, while all the time short-circuiting the West's centuries of progress. This is the chief lesson that any study of the History of Japanese Education has to teach. It is what this volume has aimed at most in order to dispel the wide-spread and erroneous idea that Japan before the Restoration was a barbarous country because the Japanese had had such little contact with the West, and because the West was therefore largely ignorant of what was going on within Japan's borders.

POSITION TODAY

As judged by the situation today, Japan's education has strayed far from the ideals which the early educationists of the Meiji Restoration set themselves. These ideals are best expressed in the Emperor Meiji's Edict on Education, which appears on p. 100. Mac Dermot lucidly paraphrases these ideals and criticizes the defects of the system. He says⁽¹⁾:

(1) *Mac Dermot*—pp. 39-40.

"The merits of the Japanese educational system are, primarily, the moral training which teaches submission, self-control, mass integrity and patriotism, thereby safeguarding the national ideal of the Empire and providing material to the state for expansion and progress or for defence against any incursions; and in the second place, the democratic method according to which the system is enforced, granting facilities to all irrespective of rank or wealth. The Japanese are taught to be Japanese subjects first and last, whether they are æsthetes or athletes, sons of rich merchants or of poor farmers.

"The outstanding defects are the forced labour of the pupil and the repression of individuality. The latter defect is, however, inherent in the very principle of the system, and if the point of view of the Japanese be accepted, that the systematised and uniform training of the masses to be so many cogs in the wheel of the nation's progress is for the greater glory and profit of Japan, then it is no more than a matter for regret that promising individual talent is sometimes sacrificed.

"Further development, as has already been indicated, will be in the nature of improvement in the working of the system, but in no radical change in the essential principles of the system. The curriculum must be rationalized; much of the imported education that has no practical application to present-day material needs must be jettisoned and the hours of study correspondingly lightened, with increasing opportunity for healthy recreation. Since the education is basically a national drill, the Spartan principles under which it is now conducted may be modified but not substantially weakened; the athletics which are to displace some hours of study will be an exercise rather than a sport. As the system matures, there will no doubt be an increase in learning for learning's sake, on the principal that some of the mud must stick and that if everyone receives some education the curiosity of a few will be awakened to purely intellectual advancement.

"The greatest unknown factor of importance to the future of the system is the development of female education. Within the last twenty years the entire social structure of Europe has been more radically altered by the concession to women of theoretic equality than by any social upheaval since the propagation of Christianity. Whether such a fate is in store for the patriarchal Japanese is a secret of the future; but it is at least probable that a country which is now wide open to any wind that blows from the West will not remain immune from

this latest typhoon. In all young, progressive countries like Japan the biological perspective of inequality of the sexes tends to be correctly observed and theoretic concession of civic, social or educational equality to women would not necessarily produce any abrupt change in practice. But to whatever extent it develops, the liberation through education of Japanese womanhood is of immense potential importance, and is the only development likely to bring about any fundamental change in the Japanese educational system."

Education in Japan at present is becoming more and more utilitarian. Higher education is believed to be the only relatively safe path leading to good posts in business, the professions or the civil service. In his autobiography, the well-known educationist, Fukuzawa Yukichi, comments on the early dangers of this utilitarian view of education in Japan. He writes⁽¹⁾ :—

"I am convinced that the students of the present day do not get the best results from their education if they are too much concerned about their future."

Further, study in one or other of Japan's hierarchy of schools is considered the sole guide to the type of post for which a student has the right to qualify after graduation. This is in part the cause of what is popularly known as "examination hell" in the country. It is the hardship imposed on boys and girls whose parents seek for them admission to those schools which are traditionally considered as the best to prepare for the type of career which parents have planned for their children. But, as a rule, these schools can only accommodate some five per cent of the candidates who offer themselves for the entrance examination. It ought not to be difficult, therefore, to imagine on the one hand the intellectual and physical dangers to the children, and on the other the corruption that such a system is certain to develop in time. This danger is aggravated by the Japanese family system, with its ramifications throughout society, which can circumvent much of that fair competition which the Japanese modern system of education ideally set out to

(1) *Autobiography of Fukuzawa, E. Kiyooka (Edit.) Tokyo, 1934.*

foster. This is the social danger before the student enters the school today. The social danger after he graduates may best be illustrated by a statement in the Japanese Diet on March 22, 1937. In the course of his questionnaire to the then Premier Hayashi, Mr. Yonehara said, "The number of graduates turned out by the universities and colleges each year reaches 30,000. Of that number, 17,000 get employment. I note an increase in the number of university and college graduates who are unable to get jobs. The state of things is deplorable from the point of view of national thought." The speaker here touched on what all educators in Japan realize is the gravest aspect of her national education. And this army of unemployed university and college graduates is so large at a time when Japan is economically flourishing. What therefore the consequences would be, and the social dangers likely to threaten the country, were there an economic slump, may be imagined. The government's powerlessness to tackle this grave problem may be judged from ex-Premier Hayashi's evasive reply to Mr. Yonehara's questionnaire. The ex-Premier was then holding also the portfolio of Minister of Education, because he had failed to recruit a first-class Minister for the thankless task, and he replied, "The unemployment situation among university and college graduates is very unsatisfactory, but the government intends to do something about the situation in the future."

But the difficulties of any government "doing something about the matter" are manifold. Not the least is that education is so cheap in Japan, and there is so much competition for it, that society cannot absorb all those who go in for higher education believing it to be a passport to the better posts in administration, business and the professions. It is becoming increasingly evident also that the migration of youths from the farms to the cities to enter the colleges and universities is only aggravating the unsatisfactory state of Japan's agricultural population. Then it has to be said that those having either political or financial interests in the many private institutions which perpetuate the defects

of the educational system are reluctant to admit of any change in the present condition. This recent commercialization of Japan's private schools is the growing curse of the system, and the cause of the greater part of the corruption in her education. Ex-Education Minister Hirao, the Minister of recent times who has best understood the defects of the modern system of Japan's education, attempted during his short term of office to stem the tide of unemployment by increasing the primary school term from six to eight years. For the same reason he planned to make the middle schools largely independent instead of continuing to maintain them as nothing more than preparatory schools for the higher institutions. But just as he seemed likely to succeed in a few of his proposed reforms, the Hirota Cabinet fell. It is significant that Mr. Hirao is a prominent business-man and not a professional educator or politician. Today, it is probably the business-man who can best detect the weaknesses, and especially the waste, both material and intellectual, in the present system. But any Minister who determines to introduce changes has to face the vested political and other interests. If he persists in carrying through any reforms, he is riding for a fall. A few Ministers of Education have risked the danger of offending those with such powerful vested interests in Japan's commercialized education. But when within an ace of putting through some reform, the cabinet, whose position in the scheme of Japanese politics is always a precarious one, has fallen, and the opponents of reform have thereby become re-entrenched. It is noteworthy that only ten days after ex-Premier Hayashi made the promise quoted above he resigned and forced a general election.

It is therefore this unstable state of the Japanese government and society within recent years which makes it so difficult to keep pace with the changes that are taking place at the present time in Japan, or to forecast her future developments in general. But, strange as it may seem, the last feature of Japan's life to be seriously affected by the frequent changes of government will be the nation's educational

system. Some of the cabinets come and go and leave the educational system quite unchanged. At most the system can only be superficially affected by any government to-day. In order for a Minister of Education to effect any serious reforms he would have to be in office for a long time, and increasingly empowered. But the life of Japanese cabinets during the past few years has been short. Moreover, with the powerful opposition in certain educational and other factions in Japan to any far-reaching reforms, a Minister of Education would not survive long any determination to insist upon any radical changes, even if the cabinet of which he was a member were to remain in office. The vested interests would force his resignation by one way or another. Thus the vicious circle makes a double turn, and in the meantime the educational system becomes stagnant. These frequent changes of the cabinet are of course the strength of those who oppose reforms. It is therefore safe to conclude that under the present régime in Japan's politics, few changes of any importance can be made in her system of education.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND—EDUCATION BEFORE THE RESTORATION.

I. THE DAWN OF JAPANESE HISTORY.

Japanese history officially begins with the reign of the Emperor Jinmu in 660 B. C. and the old calendar measured the passage of time from that date. But it is not until almost a thousand years later that evidence can be found of anything even approximating a system of organized education.

This millennium was not a period of complete and unrelieved barbarism. It is true that it was characterized by almost incessant warfare, by migration and tribal strife, by pestilence and recurrent famine, by confusion resulting from the growing impulse towards the mutual adjustment and amalgamation of the various peoples who were gradually evolving from their compound and disparate identities the modern race of Japanese. At the same time there is strong evidence in support of the belief that more than a meagre beginning had been made in the invention and application of the fundamental arts and sciences. A settled life based on agriculture was the rule and not the exception. Sericulture was also understood and widely practised, while the domestic arts from cooking to architecture were among the popular accomplishments.⁽¹⁾ Hunting and fishing offered a less dangerous variation of the art of war, and there is reason to believe that physical prowess was as carefully cultivated and as adequately rewarded by

(1) *Sato. "Nihon Kyoikushi"* Tokyo 1883. Chap. II.

popular esteem as has always been so in all other primitive societies. There is also strong traditional support for the belief that ceremonial etiquette of a rather complicated nature had been introduced before the Christian era, and filial piety was celebrated in the songs and tales of an even older origin. A Japanese scholar in describing this era has written, "Tradition says that writing was unknown in old Japan so that all people, whether high or low, youthful or aged, handed down from hoary antiquity their sacred traditions verbally among themselves, memorizing them from generation to generation."⁽¹⁾ "The teaching of these traditional sagas to the children was perhaps the first form of intellectual training encountered in the history of Japan."⁽²⁾ Music and dancing as well as oral composition thus contributed to the establishment of a form of culture which "however unorganized, was truly educative, developing in the people conformity to an ideal in which blended the essential elements of evolving manhood."⁽³⁾

Thus in the pre-literary era of Japan there gradually developed a type of civilization which, though primitive in organization and restricted in expression, did nevertheless include those elements, with one exception, from which a later, higher and more complicated form of society might naturally be expected to arise. The great exception was the absence of any written equivalent for the strong and intricate vocabulary which was yearly increasing in its power to represent and portray the activities, the thoughts and aspirations of the people of Yamato. For this one failure in native invention Japan has paid, and is paying a penalty that it is almost impossible to exaggerate. Had the men of wit and sagacity devoted to the invention of a written language, a tithe of the energy and intelligence which was dedicated to the acquisition of other capacities,

(1) From Saita's "Kogoshū" ("Gleanings of Ancient Stories") quoted in Nakao, "Nippon Kyoikushi" Tokyo 1904 p. 9. For this and most of the translations used in this book the authors are indebted to Mr. Yoshio Makasa of the staff of the Canadian Legation in Tokyo.

(2) Okuma, "Fifty Years of New Japan" London 1909 2 Vols. Vol. II. p. 113.

(3) Lombard—"Pre-Meiji Education in Japan" Tokyo 1913 p. 28.

the whole history of Japan might have been radically and beneficially revised. Their failure to do so imposed a burden upon their descendants which has been almost incalculable in its effects. The necessity of borrowing of the Chinese ideographs, and the unfortunate way in which they were adapted to the Japanese language, have been, and will continue to be one of the great obstacles to Japanese progress. Through the many centuries since the introduction of the Chinese calligraphy, the Japanese students have been faced with the formidable task of familiarizing themselves with the tools of their written language that it must inevitably have resulted in the weakening or damping of those creative fires with which youthful genius has always approached the mysteries of science, literature and art.

Contacts between Japan and the Asiatic mainland undoubtedly extend far into the centuries of the unrecorded past.⁽¹⁾ At least one of the major ethnological groups that compose the present Japanese race entered the islands from the hinterlands of Asia by way of the Korean bridge.⁽²⁾ It is natural to suppose that that contact with the mainland was probably never entirely suspended.

The first authentic record of this intercourse, however, goes back no further than the first century B. C., when great numbers of Korean adventurers crossed the Strait of Tsushima and settled in the villages of Kyushu which had been deserted by the pestilence-stricken Japanese.⁽³⁾ As to the actual date of the first introduction of Chinese writing, no entirely satisfactory or definitive statement can be recorded. The famous but erratic books of Japanese history, the Kojiki ("Record of Ancient Matters") and the Nihongi ("Chronicles") are not to be trusted in their assignment of dates,⁽⁴⁾ and modern authorities differ widely in their estimates. There seems to be

(1) Murdoch. "A History of Japan" London 1925 3 Vols. Vol. I. Chap. I.

(2) *Ibid.* pp. 49-50.

(3) Lombard.—*op. cit.*—p. 28.

(4) On this see the humorous criticisms in Murdoch. *op. cit.* Chap. II.

some reason to believe that as a result of contacts with the people of the Province of Mimana in Korea during the reign of the Emperor Sujin (97-29 B.C. are the dates usually given for this ruler), some knowledge of Chinese writing was introduced. At first, of course, this knowledge was confined to a very small number of men who pursued their studies independently and on their own initiative.⁽¹⁾ There were no schools, no professional teachers, no organized pursuit of knowledge.

Contacts between Japan and Korea continued during the succeeding centuries, but there is no record of any serious and consciously directed effort being made to introduce either the literary or material culture of the mainland until the time of the Empress Jingo and Emperor Ojin in the fourth century of the Christian era. About this time appeared the first fully authenticated personality in the history of Japanese education. According to the "Nihongi," Prince Wakairatsuko obtained as his tutor a Korean named Achiki, and from him heard the name and learned the fame of the great Korean scholar, Wani. Wani was thereupon invited to come to Japan, and the remainder of his life was spent at the Imperial court.

II. THE INTRODUCTION OF CHINESE CALLIGRAPHY.

Wani arrived in Japan in the year 405.⁽²⁾ He not only taught the Chinese language, but was also made official court recorder, so that for the first time a written record of official activities was preserved. Wani is thus reputed to have been "the ancestor of the Fumi no Obito, or Chiefs of Writing or hereditary class of official clerks and chroni-

(1) *Takashima. Nibon Kyōkubu* Tokio 1899. Book II. Chap. IV.

(2) *Sansom. "Japan. A Short Cultural History"* London 1931 p. 35.

This date is disputed by the various authorities. Dr. Murray, editor of the "Outline History of Japanese Education", New York, 1876, has Wani already in Japan in the year 270. Sir George Sansom, however, brings to his work a knowledge of the sources and a scholarly technique which have given him a prominent position among the Japanese as well as the foreign historians of Nippon. In cases of doubt, therefore, his estimate is invariably adopted.

clers."⁽¹⁾ Within a few years the Record Office was further changed with the handling of the Imperial revenues, and it became perhaps the most important of all branches of government.

As native scholars were trained in the new language and in the art of writing, and as knowledge of Chinese science became more widespread, the complete dependence upon Korean interpreters came to end, but even as late as 575 the considerable Japanese court is reported to have experienced difficulty in reading messages received from Korea.⁽²⁾ So slowly did the knowledge of writing spread that even at the end of the seventh century reciters were still commonly used at the Japanese court. Thus, written records were still very scanty at the time the "Kojiki" was completed in 702.⁽³⁾ Consequently, it is unwise to read into the arrival and influence of Wani too great an immediate effect. It is indeed probable that for some generations the majority even of the responsible court officials remained largely ignorant of and uninterested in the new learning and its practitioners. "But the arrival of Wani, and his employment at Court, meant the official adoption of the Chinese written language for official purposes. It meant the beginning of records, or registers, of edicts and written orders, and so promoted the development of central authority. It created in due course a class of literates competing with the military families in prestige. It made possible the more rapid absorption of Chinese culture, which was a culture bound up with the written word; and it prepared the way for the introduction more than a century later of a new religion and a new philosophy which could hardly have been transferred by the medium of speech."⁽⁴⁾

Perhaps the most important *immediate* result of Wani's arrival was the widespread introduction of certain Chinese and Korean crafts, particularly in the arts of weaving, sew-

(1) *Lombard. op. cit.* p. 29.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 31.

(3) *Sansom. op. cit.* pp. 19, 62.

(4) *Sansom. op. cit.* p. 35.

ing, metal-work and carpentry. The impact of these new techniques upon the more primitive customs of the Japanese must have been very great.

At or about the time of Wani's arrival in Japan one of his early successors brought to this country the Rongo, or Analects of Confucius, thus providing the basis for a religious revolution which compared in magnitude with the intellectual and material changes resulting from the other importations of the period. These Analects, together with the five major classics which followed (the Odes, the Annals, the Rites, the Changes, and the Spring and Autumn Chronicle) became the text-books of Japanese scholarship, and even to the present day they are perhaps the most important single element in the training of a scholar.⁽¹⁾

Thus it may be seen that the introduction of Chinese learning provided a new stimulus to Japanese material civilization and introduced new philosophical and religious concepts. But its most important contribution was the gift of a written language.

Reference has already been made to the handicap under which the Japanese people have suffered as a result of their failure to invent their own system of writing. As this subject recurs like a discordant refrain throughout the whole of Japanese history it is advisable to consider it in some detail at the very outset.

The sounds used in speaking the Japanese language are few in number and comparatively simple in character. They are admirably suited to alphabetical notation. It might have been far simpler for Japanese scholars to invent a suitable native alphabet rather than to go through the tortuous, infinitely complicated, confusing and inexact process of adapting to Japanese use the cumbrous system of Chinese ideographs. Yet the latter was the policy adopted and "the chief obstacle to the rapid spread of writing in Japan was the sheer technical difficulty of representing words in an agglutinated, poly-

(1) *Takashima*. *op. cit.* Chap. IV.

syllabic language like Japanese by signs standing for the monosyllabic words of Chinese, a difficulty magnified by the dissimilarity between Chinese and Japanese sounds. Pending the development of a suitable method—and this was, in effect, not evolved for centuries—for a Japanese to benefit fully by the Chinese script he must learn the Chinese language, a language differing as widely as possible from Japanese in vocabulary, syntax and idiom.”⁽¹⁾

Having decided to employ the Chinese characters in the writing of the Japanese language, the early scholars of Japan were faced with a number of serious difficulties. The Chinese characters are ideographs and stand not for sounds, but for words. If the Japanese scholar wished to record the meaning of a character “there was as a rule no difficulty for, to take a simple example, the symbol 山 stands for “mountain,” and will serve as well for the Japanese word *yama* as the Chinese word *shan*, (pronounced “san” in Japanese), since both have the same meaning—just as the symbol 五 stands equally for “five” “cinq” or “fünf”, according to the language of the context. . . . At first the choice of characters to represent Japanese syllables was a matter of individual fancy, and it may be imagined that in the beginning there was great confusion. The subsequent history of their phonetic script is a gradual progress towards uniformity, but even to-day the ideal of one symbol for one sound and one sound for one symbol, though it has been approached, has not been reached.”⁽²⁾

Fortunately, Chinese words are in most cases monosyllabic and the Chinese characters could thus be employed to represent sounds. The “Kojiki” for example is written with Chinese ideographs representing not what they originally meant but standing for the corresponding sounds. From this it might appear that the Japanese people should be able to read Chinese without difficulty, but as the Japanese pronunciation of Chinese sounds soon became cor-

(1) Sansom. *op. cit.* pp. 62-3.

(2) Sansom. *op. cit.* pp. 134-5.

rupted, and as the Chinese themselves gradually changed the pronunciation of their words, the modern Chinese and Japanese pronunciations of the same characters are entirely different.⁽¹⁾

Unfortunately, the two uses of the Chinese characters were not kept distinct by the early Japanese scholars, with the result that in the same text some characters are to be read as sounds and some as words. This admixture has continued to the present day, when the ordinary form of written and printed Japanese combines a great many Chinese characters used as words, with two kinds of simplified variants of the original Chinese characters which are employed to represent sounds. These variants (Kata-kana and Hira-gana) deserve a brief note of explanation, as it is conceivable that they may eventually offer a solution of this perplexing problem. Their development has been explained by Baron Kikuchi as follows: "On the introduction of Chinese literature into Japan, they (the characters) were made use of in two different ways. One was to use them simply as signs of sounds, and the other was to use them as signs of words, as in the original, but calling them by their Japanese equivalents. In using them as sounds there gradually came to be introduced a certain fixed method, so that certain characters were constantly used for particular Japanese sounds. The ways of writing those sound characters were gradually modified, so that they came to be often quite different from the original forms, and there were different ways of modification, which have given rise to two different sets of characters for the Japanese alphabet. These letters of the Japanese alphabet are known as *kana* (which means "borrowed name", as they were originally "borrowed" from the Chinese to be used not in their original significance but as signs of Japanese sounds). One modification gave rise to *hira-gana* and another to *kata-kana*."⁽²⁾ This development has also been described by

(1) Kikuchi. *op. cit.* pp. 11, 165.

(2) Kikuchi. *op. cit.*—pp. 164-5.

See also Nakano "Nippori Kyōikubishi"

Murray as follows: "In 'Kojiki', a history of Japan, and 'Manyoshu', a collection of Japanese poetry, Chinese characters were indeed used, but only as phonetics of the Japanese sounds. As the square and unabbreviated form of the Chinese characters, however, consisted of so great a number of strokes as to occasion much perplexity contractions and abbreviations were made; and so, after many and probably gradual changes, the characters assumed a permanent form called Hira-gana, more or less different from the original. In some other characters a part only of the original was retained, leaving out the more complicated part of the original, for the sake of convenience in writing. These abbreviated characters, being very simple, soon assumed a permanent form. Such was the origin of Katakana, or side-letters."⁽¹⁾

Some indication of the problem with which the Japanese student is faced may be obtained from the preceding paragraphs. But its full difficulty only becomes apparent when it is realized that there are in all some *fifty thousand Chinese characters*, and of them at least three thousand are in common use. Some of these characters, moreover, "have two or three, sometimes five or six different meanings so that the learning of three thousand amounts really to that of more than ten thousand."⁽²⁾ Even this does not state the full complexity of the situation, for, again to quote Baron Kikuchi, "to know a Chinese character involves a knowledge of its sounds, of which there may be several, and of its meanings, of which also there may be several (in the same way as with English words). You must know besides how to write it, which is a quite different thing from knowing it by sight, just as you might know an English word by sight and yet make mistakes in spelling it, which is by no means an easy matter, as some of the characters are exceedingly complicated. Moreover, there are

(1) Murray, *op. cit.*—p. 133. See also Fujioka "The Japanese Language" in Okuma "Fifty Years of New Japan", 2 Vols. London 1909. Vol. I. p. 8.

(2) Professor Tanakadate, the authority on Romaji, as quoted in Brown "Japan in the World of Today," N. Y. 1928 p. 113.

several styles of writing the same characters, of which an ordinary educated man should know at least three, the formal or regular, semi-cursive and cursive."⁽¹⁾

"Then there is the difficulty of the difference of styles or rather of grammars between spoken and written language; I do not mean, difference such as would naturally arise in any language between the two, but one of grammar. Again, in the written language, the epistolary style differs from the ordinary in many important respects; the old or classical Japanese again differs in grammar from the modern in many very important respects. At present, we may say that there are two styles differing grammatically, taught in elementary schools: the spoken language and the ordinary style of written language. Then in both the written and spoken languages, we have different modes of expression, according as we address our superiors, equals, or inferiors, which children have to learn, but which is by no means easy to acquire. A movement is now going on towards the unification of the written and spoken languages, or rather the use of the style of spoken language in writing, but there are great difficulties in the way of such a reform. The old or classical style is now not used except on special occasions or in special cases, now not used except on special occasions have to be taken into account in the teaching of the language."⁽²⁾

It is true that the far from being an introduction of Chinese calligraphy was place it made possibly mitigated misfortune. In the first Chinese civilization and indeed imperative, the study of comparatively barren language thought. It enriched the comparative ideas, new shades and of Japan with new words, new requirement of the ability variations of meaning. The in itself a training in art is the Chinese characters was in the realm of Japanese calligraphy is often a source of expression. The high position who are accustomed to theetics which is accorded to wonder to those foreigners

(1) *Kikuchi*.—*op. cit.* pp. 166-7.

(2) *Kikuchi*.—*op. cit.* pp. 166-169.

the ability to write as no

more than a tool rather than as the exercise of an art. To the Japanese each beautiful square ideograph is a study in pure form—an exercise in abstract design with no ulterior motive of depiction or representation. To write beautifully "is to solve fundamental problems of art. The line must be cunningly placed, it must be in just relation to its fellows, and though it may pass from strength to softness it may never falter but must be alive throughout its length. . . . To a discerning eye such modulations, under the sure touch of a master, can give as profound satisfaction as the most harmonious blend of colour. In Japan therefore calligraphy is not a mere handicraft but an art, the sister and not the handmaid of painting."⁽¹⁾

It is unfortunate that the Japanese were unable to obtain the training in aesthetics which resulted from the adoption of the Chinese script, without at the same time suffering from the undeniable practical handicap which its importation made inevitable. Yet, while emphasizing to the full the artistic and spiritual values derived from the Chinese characters, their adoption still remains the great tragedy in the educational history of Japan.

Various solutions to the problem of the written language have from time to time been proposed by Japanese statesmen and scholars. Mr. (later Viscount) Mori, Minister of Education in the first Ito Cabinet, carried away by the amazing changes taking place in Japanese life, and impressed by the obvious handicap imposed by the language difficulty, proposed the complete abandonment of both written and oral Japanese and the immediate and universal introduction of English. This proposal, however, was too radical even for his iconoclastic generation. Societies were formed, however, to advocate the exclusive use of the Kana, and others proposed the introduction of Romaji-Japanese words phonetically represented by Roman letters.⁽²⁾ For some years towards the end of the 19th and the beginning

of the 20th Century these societies made notable progress, but with the nationalist reaction which came as a by-product of the World War their advocates lost enthusiasm and dwindled in numbers. It is nevertheless reasonable to assume that the movement which they represent will again develop. Even China itself has moved far in the direction of rationalization. It is not to be expected that Japan will for many generations allow this handicap to remain unmodified.⁽¹⁾ The effect upon the modern educational system of Japan of the failure to evolve a simple and practical native alphabet will be considered in later chapters. It is enough here to say that in the light of Japanese history and of current educational practice it is difficult not to agree with the statement that it is one of "the tragedies of oriental history that the Japanese genius did not a thousand years ago arise to this invention. Certainly when one considers the truly appalling system which in the course of centuries they did evolve, that immense and intricate apparatus of signs for recording a few dozen little syllables, one is inclined to think that the western alphabet is perhaps the greatest triumph of the human mind."⁽²⁾

III. EARLY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The introduction of writing made possible the development of a new type of civilization in Japan. Along with the importation of this mechanical art came a wide variety of intellectual and spiritual stimuli, the effects of which, both good and bad, have lasted to the present day.

Confucianism with its ethical concepts was easily incorporated into the religious and governmental creeds of Japan. Its emphasis upon filial piety and the expression of this spirit in governmental forms was readily appreciated and quickly accepted by the people of Japan.⁽³⁾ Buddhism,

(1) It is worth noting that certain Japanese business firms now conduct their business not only with foreign customs, but among themselves in English. The advantages of brevity and exactness are too great to forgo because of any national sentiment of this nature.

(2) Sansom.—*op. cit.*

(3) Takeda. *Nippon Kyoikushi*. Tokyo 1934. Chap. I.

on the contrary, with its well-defined religious philosophy was not so easily reconciled with the native Shinto doctrines. Nevertheless, its influence gradually spread, and during the reign of the Emperor Kimmei in the middle of the sixth century Imperial recognition was granted to the new religion, when the Emperor accepted a gift consisting of an image of Shaka Butsu and certain Buddhist scriptures from the Prince of Kudara in Korea.⁽¹⁾ It was not, however, until the regency of Prince Shotoku that the Imperial Family took any active steps to propagate and foster the growth of Buddhism. The powerful Soga family was the centre of Buddhist power in Japan, and it was under its influence that the Imperial Prince was first persuaded to study and later to accept the doctrines of the alien faith. But the conversion of the Regent did not of itself reconcile the opposing forces, and this did not take place until the famous Gyogi Bosatsu succeeded in the 8th Century in effecting a reconciliation of the divergent theologies of Buddhism and Shinto. This was done most thoroughly and effectively by identifying the old gods and goddesses of Japan with the Buddhist deities. This indirect but highly effective solution of the difficulty is characteristic of both the methods and the achievements of Japan. In this case, moreover, it established a precedent of religious toleration which has been maintained with remarkable consistency (in spite of the Christian persecution) throughout the religious history of Japan.⁽²⁾

Prince Shotoku (572-621, A. D.) deserves more than passing mention in any history of Japanese education, since it was under the influence of his enthusiasm that the first school was established.⁽³⁾ It is true that this school was attached to a Buddhist temple, and that it was designed not for the dissemination of secular learning but for the instruc-

(1) Murdoch. *op. cit.* pp. 110-112.

(2) Takeda. *op. cit.* Chap. II.

Murdoch. *op. cit.* pp. 192-3.

(3) Connected with the Horyu Yakumonji (Gokumonji) Temple which was built in 608. See Lombard. *op. cit.*—p. 58.

tion of priests, yet it did set a precedent which was soon followed by the establishment of schools by the Emperors Kotoku and Tenchi (668-671, A. D.),⁽¹⁾ and fifty years later, by the fundation of the first university at Nara (c. 670). Prince Shotoku also promulgated the first approximation of a written code of laws. (The Constitution of 17 Articles). These took the form of regulations or suggestions for the moral guidance of all those who served under him, and they were essentially didactic rather than legislative, based on an appeal to conscience rather than the threat of legal sanctions. It is significant that the moral and ethical elements which are so prominent in all Japanese education, and in the theories of all Japanese educators, were first systematically expounded in these injunctions issued in the year 604 by Prince Shotoku.⁽²⁾

By the end of the sixth century the Japanese Court began to send students direct to China to study Confucianism, Buddhism, the Chinese language, and the various arts and sciences of which inklings had been received through the medium of Korea.⁽³⁾ This official encouragement to study abroad bears a very close resemblance to the policy of the Government during the early years of the Meiji era when for the second time Japan set out consciously and determinedly to acquire the learning of an alien civilization. In one year (654) as many as two hundred and forty students were sent abroad by the Emperor Kotoku.⁽⁴⁾ Among the students sent by Prince Shotoku were Takamuku, Minabushi and a priest, Bin. Takamuku remained in China for thirty years and the others for ten. Later, Takamuku and Bin were given professional appointments by the Emperor Kotoku; thus they were the first native Japanese to be so honoured. The fact that these appointments were made in the year 645 proves the existence of centres of instruction at that time, although the first definite record of the appointment of a

(1) *Lombard.* *op. cit.*—p. 26.

(2) *Murdoch.* *op. cit.* pp. 123-4. *Sansom.* *op. cit.* pp. 70-72.

(3) *Okuma.* *op. cit.*—p. 115.

(4) *Lombard.* *op. cit.*—p. 42.

school-director (Fumiyanō-kami) is as late as 664, when the Emperor Tenchi appointed Kishitsu Shushin, a native of Korea to that post.⁽¹⁾

By the middle of the 7th Century there is evidence of a "University Department" in the Court government but it is not until the great reforms resulting from the introduction of Chinese learning culminated in the "Taihoryō" or "Code of the Taiho Era" that any clear picture of the educational activities of the court can be obtained. This code of laws, which was introduced between the years 662 and 671, covered every phase of administration, civil, military, judicial, educational and religious, and was so far-reaching in its influence on subsequent history that Count Okuma, with pardonable exaggeration, has compared it in importance with the Justinian Code.⁽²⁾

The educational provisions of the "Taihoryō" provided for the instruction of the sons of officials who alone received civil education. Those who desired to become priests were trained in the temples and monasteries. A University was established in the Capital and a school was organized in each province. Only children of families of the 5th rank or higher were allowed to attend the University, although exceptions might be made for children of families of the sixth, seventh or eighth rank.⁽³⁾ Children of the hereditary recorders were also admitted. The provincial schools were open only to the children of provincial officials and those of special ability were allowed to proceed from the provincial schools to the University. It is, of course, apparent that these educational plans were designed not to provide a system of universal education but to train certain selected men of approved families for Government service.⁽⁴⁾ Throughout this period, and for long afterwards "except in the case of the priesthood, learning and office alike were strictly confined to a numerically insig-

(1) Murdoch. *op. cit.*—pp. 145-147. Murray. *op. cit.*—pp. 148-149.

(2) Okuma. *op. cit.*—p. 116. Murdoch. *op. cit.*—p. 158.

(3) Kikuchi. *op. cit.*—p. 15. Okuma. *op. cit.* pp. 117-118.

(4) Sato. *op. cit.*—Chap. IV.

this system was uncertain, variable and inexact. Moreover, it depended to too large an extent upon the goodwill of the governmental or provincial officials, and the security of the school funds was seriously threatened by frequent frauds and speculations. A number of successful prosecutions give evidence of the efforts made by the Government to extirpate these dishonest officials, but it cannot be said that the finances of this early educational system were ever satisfactorily organized.

Students in attendance at the University or provincial schools were usually provided with food and the necessary text-books (insofar as books were ever available) and were exempt from all obligations of military service, public labour or taxation.⁽¹⁾ The full term for a successful student was nine years. Students were graded as the result of examinations into three classes. Those who for three successive years fell into the lowest group were then expelled. The higher governmental posts were given only to those who had good scholastic records—a policy which has been followed more or less rigorously down to the present day.

As has been suggested above, the fact that admission to the schools and university was confined to students of the upper social ranks had two important results. It drove the able and ambitious children of plebian families into the temple and monastery schools and clerical life; and it resulted in a paucity of really able administrators for Governmental posts. So serious did this condition become that in the year 827 Miyako Haruka, professor of composition, addressed the following appeal to the Emperor:

“It is feared that scholars of the art of composition may cease to be produced, if this branch of study be, as it is now, limited to men of high birth only, since men of noble birth cannot be expected always to be men of talent, nor are men of great talent necessarily of noble birth. Still more, the University is a place where talent ought to be cherished and intelligence nourished; and, besides, what the scholars consider

(1) *Lombard.* *op. cit.*—p. 52. The books were, of course, in manuscript, few in number, and often inaccurate in text. See *Okuma.* *op. cit.*—p. 118.

their hope and honour is that talent alone is cared for by rulers in choosing men, so that one who is a mere common domestic in the morning may be raised to the station of Minister of State in the evening."

This is the first record in Japanese history of any recognition of the desirability of general education. Unfortunately, Haruka's plea was without result, although there are records of a single school established in 828 to which students were admitted without restrictions based on rank. This school, however, taught only calligraphy and the principles of Buddhism and Confucianism.

Reference should also be made to the private schools which were established in Kyoto during the eighth and ninth centuries.⁽¹⁾ These schools were apparently affiliated with the University, though just what connection existed has not been made quite clear. Each of these schools was founded by and designed primarily for the education of the members of one of the great ruling families, such as the Sugawara, Tachibana, Fujiwara, Oye and Arihara.⁽²⁾ During the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries literary education was recognized as an essential part of the training of the upper classes. "So long as writing appeared as a mere mechanical accomplishment, a craft not much different from say, weaving or painting, it might be left to clerks. It was when it was seen to be the vehicle for a new religion and a new political philosophy that it first became essential to the ruling classes."⁽³⁾ Unfortunately, this impulse, even when fortified by the emotional stimulus of Buddhism did not persist for any considerable length of time. By the middle of the ninth century evidences of decay were apparent.⁽⁴⁾

Before considering the causes of the decline of learning, reference should be made to another aspect of the literary accomplishments of the period under discussion. About

(1) Nakano. *op. cit.* Part II. Chap. 3. Murdoch. *op. cit.* p. 229.

(2) Murdoch. *op. cit.* pp. 229-230. Okuma. *op. cit.* p. 118.

(3) Sansom. *op. cit.*—p. 63.

(4) Nakano. *op. cit.* Part III. Chap. 1.

the year 775, one Iyetsugu Ishigami, impressed by the difficulty of disseminating knowledge without wider access to the information stored in books, founded the first library mentioned in Japanese history. He converted his home into a temple, and in a small building in the temple grounds he gathered together all the books that he could obtain. The library thus formed was thrown open to public use. His example was soon followed by a number of the larger families, although in most cases the use of the books was confined to the members of the family and its retainers. In 770 the Emperor Koken caused to be printed from wood blocks a large edition of the Buddhist Canonical books, and these were distributed throughout the temples of that faith. But this was a very slow and arduous method of printing, and the number of books produced in Japan was very small until after the introduction of movable type in the sixteenth century.

Throughout the period of this early renaissance students were being sent regularly to China. For this purpose many of the most capable scholars were chosen, and upon their return they were generally sure of employment in the University, in some lucrative governmental post, or in the religious hierarchy. This movement continued until about 900 A.D. when, as a result of the growing reaction and economic distress in Japan it was gradually forsaken.⁽¹⁾

The first great period of Japanese intellectual activity may therefore be said to have reached its apogee about the year 800 A.D. Half a century later signs of decadence were beginning to appear. The decline continued throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, when scholarship had to contend with the confusion which accompanied the rising power of an ambitious, warlike, and illiterate nobility.⁽²⁾ As the first enthusiasm for learning waned, the energies of the aristocracy gradually separated into two divergent channels. In Court circles in Kyoto there developed an elegant and restricted society of nobles and courtiers whose

(1) Nakano. *op. cit.* p. 60.

(2) Takasima. *op. cit.* Chap. V.

interests became progressively centred in music, etiquette, literature, and intrigue to the detriment of sound education and moral standards. Outside the Court a number of powerful and ambitious provincial lords engaged in a constant and ruthless struggle for supremacy within the feudal society which was gradually taking form. As Japanese history for five hundred years witnessed the collateral and contentious existence of these two social elements, and as between them real learning was almost obliterated, they deserve more than passing reference. Among the nobles of the Court (Kuge) there developed a pretentious, elegant, but essentially sterile enthusiasm for the more fashionable and precious, but less fundamental forms of artistic expression. It is not without significance that the court ladies—women who knew little or nothing of life outside their own sheltered homes—became the most famous and most successful exponents of the minor arts which flourished in that artificial atmosphere. In the composition of Chinese verse and Japanese poems, in dancing, in calligraphy, in painting on silk and other typical arts of their period and their class, the ladies of the court were preeminently successful.⁽¹⁾ Nor did the Court officials make any serious effort to halt these decadent tendencies. Murdoch has described the nobility of the period in no flattering terms. He says that they “found it more congenial to act as the arbiters of taste and fashion in clothes and exotic belles-lettres than to spend laborious days holding provincial and district officers to a strict discharge of their onerous responsibilities. Instead of forming a school of administrators with a stern sense of public duty and a creed of honest work, they reared an ever-pullulating brood of greedy, needy, frivolous dilettante—as often as not foully licentious, utterly effeminate, incapable of any worthy achievement, but withal the polished exponents of high breeding and correct ‘form’. Now and then a better man did occasionally emerge; but one just man is impotent to avert the

(1) *Okuma. op. cit.* p. 120.

doom of an intellectual Sodom. And the one just man not infrequently appeared in the shape of a portentously learned but hopelessly arid and frigid pedant. And it was from those formed in the great aristocratic schools of Kyoto that the public service was to be recruited. A pretty showing, indeed, these pampered minions and bepowdered poetasters might be expected to make as administrators in the wilds of Echigo or the Kwanto. Even if honestly inclined—which in the majority of cases he was not—such an official found himself unfitted by his training to grapple with the stern realities of the situation. One result was that great stretches of the Empire were soon seething with disorder that occasionally threatened to assume the dimensions of anarchy.”⁽¹⁾

This relaxation of power at the centre was both a cause and an effect of the growing turbulence in the provinces. Although Japan has never known a *Pax Romana*, the country was now going through a period of stress and reorganization very similar to the growth of feudal society in Europe subsequent to the destruction of Roman power. Throughout the provinces the weaker individuals in growing numbers commended their lives and their services to the more powerful lords in return for the hope, and in some cases the substance, of protection. The provincial rulers in turn engaged in almost constant warfare, basing their fortunes and the future upon the sword. Near the top of this chaotic society a few powerful families used every weapon of force, intrigue and cunning to extend their domains to achieve that final culmination of feudal power, the control of the Imperial Court.

The competitive growth of the power and the pretensions of such families as that of Fujiwara, Taira and Minamoto, with their inevitable concentration of interest upon military and political activity brought with them a rapid decline in scholarship, industry and art. In such circumstances education was among the first interests to suffer.

(1) *Murdoch. op. cit.* pp. 230-231.

Funds originally designed for scholastic purposes were diverted to less attractive ends, while graft, chicanery, and maladministration were rife among those charged with the control of the educational system. By the beginning of the 10th Century the central government had almost entirely lost its enthusiasm for education, and was devoting what remained of its vitiated energies to the difficult task of maintaining a semblance of the Imperial control over the rude but powerful nobles who were everywhere engaged in bloodshed.

Even before the year 900 the Fujiwara family had gained the chief position of influence in the Court circles of Kyoto, although beyond the radius of Imperial command the great military families led by Taira and Minamoto exerted the power with little reference to the decrees of the Court.⁽¹⁾ For three hundred years the Fujiwara family, by reliance upon its dual policy of forcing its daughters as consorts upon the Imperial princes, and by using for its own aggrandizement a large share of the Imperial revenues, succeeded in retaining its position as the most powerful single influence among the many competing interests. But even during the period of Fujiwara prominence the nation as a whole was seldom really at peace.

As the feudal system took definite form in the 11th, 12th and 13th Centuries, Japanese society tended to crystallize in its vertical bonds while strife continued on the horizontal planes. The whole system, moreover, was based on force, and by force alone could it be maintained. Inevitably a new standard of comparative values was gradually evolved to justify the theories upon which society was based. Learning was neglected and despised as admiration for the arts and virtues of war increased. Of this period it is reported that on one occasion, when an Imperial message had been sent to a military force of 5,000 men, only one man was found who could interpret the written commands.⁽²⁾

(1) Mori. "Education in Japan" N. Y. 1873. p. XVII.
Murdoch. *op. cit.* Chap. IX.

(2) Okuma. *op. cit.* p. 12.

Kamakura, which was selected as the new seat of government by Yoritomo in 1190 was, after the death of Yoritomo himself, notorious for an almost complete absence of learning. The Kyoto schools and University were dying a gradual death, and by 1300 in all eastern Japan there were only two centres of instruction, the Ashikaga College and the Kanazawa Library.⁽¹⁾ After the wars of the period of Onin (1467-1468) not a trace of the University remained.⁽²⁾

IV. THE DARK AGES.

With brief moments of reform the decline in the arts and education continued throughout the strident period of the Ashikaga shogunate⁽³⁾ (1336-1573), and it was not until Nobunaga seized power that any serious effort was made to encourage learning and the crafts. Even Nobunaga could only enforce his will over a small fraction of the territory of Japan, and it was not until Hideyoshi had completed his work of consolidation that Ieyasu Tokugawa was able to reestablish the foundations of a national system of education.

Although the record of the centuries from the year 1000 to the year 1600 was so dark, there were occasional and fitful gleams that gave evidence of a persistent if overshadowed and divided interest in the arts and learning of a more peaceful and a more enlightened day.

The library built about 1300 by Akitoki Kanazawa, and another built fifty years later by Norizane Uyesugi, preserved much of the learning of earlier scholars, and provided an asylum for those few but determined searchers after knowledge whose enthusiasm triumphed over the vicissitudes and discouragements of their time. The founders of these libraries and their associates and successors were members of the Buddhist priesthood; the institutions were fostered and protected by the Church. Nor was this the

(1) *Sansom*, *op. cit.* p. 338. See also *Okuma* pp. 121-2.

(2) *Murray*, *op. cit.* p. 149.

(3) *Mori*, *op. cit.* p. xxviii.

only contribution of Buddhism to the preservation of learning. Having been given as early as the 10th Century a monopoly of the right to teach, the priests repaid the trust reposed in them by organizing schools in connection with their temples, and it was due to their schools more than to any other cause that learning did not entirely disappear from Japanese life. During the years of the government's patronage of education the Buddhist clergy played a prominent but by no means leading part; but during the period of governmental negligence the priesthood was almost alone in preserving the tradition of learning. The only exception to this rule, if it may be called an exception, was the Ashikaga School which developed a certain restricted influence during the 14th and 15th Centuries. The fortunes of this school, which had originally been founded in 1160, were advanced by the influence of the more enlightened members of the Ashikaga family, but after 1460 it also fell under the administration of the priesthood. Not only all executive positions, but all teaching posts were held by priests. This school was designed primarily to train the younger members of the Ashikaga family, although it was not confined exclusively to this task, since in the early 16th Century it is reported to have had no fewer than 3000 students enrolled at one time.⁽¹⁾ Although the Ashikaga School undoubtedly did exert a restricted influence on the uncongenial life of its time, it is chiefly important because it was unique in being, for part of its existence at least, under secular control. All the other schools of its time (and there were few that deserve the designation) were entirely controlled by the Church, and almost exclusively concerned in the training of candidates for the priesthood. Among these ecclesiastical schools reference should perhaps be made to the celebrated monastery schools on Mt. Koya (near Osaka) and Mt. Hiyei (near Kyoto).⁽²⁾

Professor Lombard has well summarized the history of Japanese education during the Dark Ages in these terms:

(1) *Sensori.* *op. cit.* p. 366.

(2) *Murdoch.* *op. cit.* p. 154.

" Education had not ceased to exist ; but it flourished only in the retirement of temples and under the fostering care of those who escaped the enervating luxury of the Court on the one hand and the rude might of unorganized soldiery on the other. The slender thread of literary culture was held unbroken by Buddhist priests who made their abiding place a school and gathered into careful keeping books that would otherwise have been lost."⁽¹⁾

On the state of society in general during the century preceding the beginning of the Tokugawa era a thoughtful historian has written as follows : " The plotting and counter-plotting, the universal distrust, the total disregard of principle, the neglect of learning, agriculture and commerce, the bitter misery of the age . . . defy all description. The whole country was a scene of desolation unprecedented in Japanese annals. The sons of noblemen to whom war was distasteful fled to the mountains. The merchants, artisans and agriculturists dragged out a weary existence unwilling to die, yet seeing nothing for which to live."⁽²⁾

Although the intense preoccupation of the Japanese people with military activities did little to strengthen the intellectual capacity or moral perception of the people as a whole, it did perhaps have a beneficial influence in emphasizing such virtues as physical endurance, tenacity of purpose, bravery in danger, intense loyalty and devotion to duty and those other qualities which have become associated with the name of the samurai class.⁽³⁾

V. EDUCATION UNDER THE TOKUGAWAS.

It is difficult to recall in the history of any land so extraordinary a coincidence as the almost simultaneous appearance in the latter half of the 16th Century of three such noteworthy figures in the military and administrative

(1) *Lombard. op. cit.* pp. 67-8. See also *Takashima op. cit.* Chap. V.

(2) *Dering. "Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi". 3rd Edition. Kobe 1930.* p. 7.

(3) On military training see *Sato. op. cit.* Chap. V.

history of Japan. Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, born respectively in 1533, 1536 and 1542, transformed among them the civilization of Japan, and inaugurated an era of 250 years of comparative prosperity, of revived interest in the art of learning, and of almost uninterrupted peace. Towering ambition made effective by exceptional ability and iron determination raised Nobunaga from a petty lordship to the personal control of all central Japan. Hideyoshi (a man of extraordinary genius), building on the foundation prepared by Nobunaga, deposed the last of the Ashikaga shoguns, and before his death established his authority over the whole of Japan.⁽¹⁾ Further, by his invasion of Korea, Hideyoshi brought the people of Japan again into direct and active contact with continental culture. Indeed, this war has been justly described as "the most immediate incentive to the cultural revival" which Japan experienced in the 17th Century.⁽²⁾ Thus was the way prepared for Ieyasu Tokugawa who, with his capacity for war and his genius in promoting the arts of peace, was to establish so firmly the ascendancy of his family that, strengthened by the individual virtues of as extraordinary a succession of rulers as the world has seen, it remained in command of the destiny of Japan for over two hundred and fifty years.

Ieyasu was barely established in his authority before he began to fan into flame those persistent but hidden sparks of learning that had survived the storm of the six centuries of strife.⁽³⁾ Priests were now employed to copy Chinese and Japanese books, and men of learning were patronized and schools endowed. Temple schools were not only tolerated but encouraged, while in all the great fiefs the daimyos, stimulated by the example of their great preceptor, established schools for the training of their own families and the sons of their leading samurais.

A stirring and beneficial competition developed among the various schools, and students of ability were accorded

(1) On Hideyoshi see *Dering*. *op. cit.*

(2) Yokoyama. "Kinsei Kyoikushi". Tokyo 1904. p. 2.

(3) *Ibid.* Chap. I. Sect. II.

laurels for academic achievements which had previously been reserved for the reward of military prowess. Within a few years of his conclusive victory at Sekigahara in 1600, Ieyasu, influenced by the personality and doctrines of the famous Confucian scholar Razan Hayashi, established a school under his personal supervision in Kyoto and appointed Seikwa to the headship. From that time on the Chu Hsi (Shushi) interpretation of the Confucian doctrines, popularized and expounded by Seikwa, was virtually adopted as the official school of thought, and the Kyoto School, particularly under the direction of Razan Hayashi, Seikwa's nominated successor, exerted a profound influence over the course of Japanese thought. From these men and from this school the scholarship of the Tokugawa period derived much of its direction and still more of its inspiration.⁽¹⁾

In addition to his encouragement of schools, Ieyasu began a personal investigation into the history of Japan with special reference to problems of Government and administration. In this also he was aided by Razan Hayashi, to whom further reference is made later. As a result of his studies, Ieyasu conceived an enthusiasm for printing which led to the introduction of foreign types and books. For a time it appeared almost as though another revival of learning based on foreign importations was about to begin. "In his so-called *Legacy* or 'Testament' it is stated that the culture and learning of Japan being behind those of other countries, schools should be established in the interests of the country's reputation, and that, since from his youth to the assumption of the Shogunate, what he had always held most sacred was neither money nor jewels, but excellence of moral character, his descendants should carry out his intention by always observing the golden rule which says: 'Human happiness may naturally be found in learning and should be sought therein.' The measures he adopted for the encouragement of culture and learning were four, namely, investigation of old books and documents,

(1) *Marshall*, *op. cit.* pp. 114-115.

employment of learned men, the establishment of schools and the publication of books."⁽¹⁾ In writing to the Imperial Court, moreover, Iyeyasu declared that "education should be the first concern of the Emperor," and in his instruction to the Samurais he advised them "to give heed to *literature*, tactics, archery and horsemanship."⁽²⁾ The cultural revival that was made possible by the achievements of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, and which began under the rule of Iyeyasu "ended the general stagnation of the previous age and encouraged the spirit of adventure both in deed and in literature."⁽³⁾

Iyeyasu's interest in learning was, however, always subordinate to his determination to preserve the authority of his family and his office. Thus, after a brief period, during which intercourse with Europe through the agencies of missionaries and traders was encouraged, the Shogun began to fear for the stability of his régime if foreign ideas of liberty and progress were allowed unrestricted entry into Japan.⁽⁴⁾ The activities of the Christian missionaries were, moreover, in many cases sufficient to strain the patience of even the most generous and hospitable of hosts. Not only did the missionaries despise and attack the accepted religious beliefs of the Japanese, but they imported into the mission fields of Japan the theological and nationalistic conflicts of their native lands in Europe. Protestant against Catholic, Dutch opposed to Spaniards, Portuguese against French—the animosities of war-racked Europe lost none of their acerbity when transplanted by the missionaries and traders who sought personal, doctrinal and national advantages in Japan by retailing the alleged crimes and atrocities of their religious and commercial competitors. The more the Japanese learned of the internal animosities of Europe, and the part that was being played by the Christian

(1) *Okuma*. *op. cit.* pp. 125-126. Iyeyasu's "Legacy" is printed in translation in *Murdoch* *op. cit.* pp. 796-814.

(2) *Lombard*. *op. cit.* p. 75; *Murdoch*. Vol. II. p. 703.

(3) *Yokoyama*. *op. cit.* p. 5.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 19; and *Murdoch*. *op. cit.* p. 496.

churches in producing the abominable conditions which characterized that continent in the 16th and 17th Centuries, the less attractive must have seemed the prospect of encouraging more intimate relations. Above all, the categoric refusal of the Christian missionaries to recognize any value in the native faiths, their scorn of the divine pretensions of the Imperial Family, and the subversive ideas of individual freedom and universal equality under the Fatherhood of God which were inherent in the Christian doctrines united to alienate the sympathy of the rulers of Japan.⁽¹⁾ In consequence of these facts barriers were soon raised against foreign ideas, and instead of a new renaissance, a great age of cultural enlightenment, the Tokugawa régime very quickly began to foster an educational policy which emphasized only the conservative and orthodox and essentially sterile ideals of ancient China and Japan. Thus, although Ieyasu was responsible for the revival of learning and for reestablishing the dignity of scholarship, he and his successors were also responsible for limiting the scope and restricting the objectives towards which scholars could direct their research and their ambitions. "The years of the (Tokugawa) Shogunate were by no means years of intellectual stagnation; but they were years in which consciously and unconsciously, a government system of education worked against the free thinking of independent scholars and held in check native instincts which in their growth nevertheless prepared the way for the overthrow of the usurping shogunate and the Restoration of 1868."⁽²⁾

Razan Hayashi, who had been engaged by Ieyasu as historical councillor in 1605, was shortly given additional duties, which in turn increased until he was firmly established as an adviser to the Shogun on matters concerning education, a sort of precursor to the Minister of Education, and whose post as adviser became hereditary in his family.⁽³⁾

(1) On this subject much material has been collected by Murdoch. *op. cit.*, especially *Chap. XVI.*

(2) Lombard. *op. cit.* p. 74.

(3) Yokoyama. *op. cit.* *Chap. I. Sect. 16.* Murdoch. *op. cit.* pp. 115ff.

From his accession to this post it can be observed that moral training based on the Confucian ethics became divorced from ecclesiastical influences. Whereas during the preceding centuries the Buddhist temples alone were the centres of instruction, and the priesthood was endowed with the exclusive right of teaching, from the early days of the Tokugawa era "Confucian philosophy had an official status and it may almost be regarded as having achieved the position of an established religion."⁽¹⁾

In 1633 the Shogun Iyemitsu gave to Hayashi a grant of land where now stands Uyeno Park in Tokyo, upon which was founded an Academy which became, in 1690, the University of Yedo. The Shoheiko (named after the birthplace of Confucius, which in Japanese is Shohei), although at first a private establishment, soon became a public institution to which, however, the Hayashi family held hereditary rights to the principalship. A library and temple were founded in conjunction with the school, and the establishment became the seat of scholarship and of orthodox Confucianism. In 1790 the fourth Shogun, Tsunayoshi, visited the academy and his visit proved the first step to official recognition.

The example of their overlord was soon followed by the more powerful daimyos, and provincial schools soon began to appear.⁽²⁾ In these schools the daimyos provided for the education of their families and the families of their leading retainers.⁽³⁾ All those below the rank of Samurai (this term is applied to those who held feudal stations as military retainers to their lords) were forced to provide for their own education by obtaining private instruction from tutors, or from such unusual institutions as the school established at Kyoto in 1680 by Jinsai Ito—the first important school in Japanese history to be established by a private individual. The result was that education was confined almost exclusively to the members of only one of the four classes into which

(1) *Sansom*. *op. cit.* p. 493.

(2) *Yokojima*. *op. cit.* Chap. I. Sect. 18. *Sato*. *op. cit.* Chap. VI.

(3) *Takeda*. *op. cit.* p. 185.